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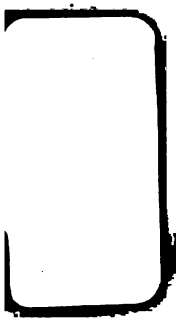

MAN AND THE STATE

STUDIES IN APPLIED SOCIOLOGY

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TO

BENJAMIN HARRISON

AND

GROVER CLEVELAND

EMINENT CITIZENS OF THE REPUBLIC, AND

CHOSEN LEADERS OF THE PEOPLE IN A GREAT POLITICAL CONTEST

THIS HUMBLE EFFORT

TO ELEVATE QUESTIONS OF PUBLIC POLICY INTO THE FIELD

OF SCIENTIFIC DISCUSSION

IS RESPECTFULLY DEDICATED.

PREFACE.

THE topics herein discussed, though following naturally those considered in the previous volumes on Evolution, Sociology, and Evolution in Science, Philosophy, and Art, were selected for treatment at this time in view of our approaching presidential contest. Treating, as they do, of the relations of the individual to the State as illustrated in the practical issues of current American politics, it was not without consultation with those whose wisdom and judgment will be recognized by all intelligent Americans that the trustees of the Brooklyn Ethical Association finally decided upon the adoption of this programme.

Among those who were thus consulted was the Hon. Andrew D. White, ex-president of Cornell University and now the United States Minister to Russia, who gave the proposition his cordial indorsement and encouragement. "I find my thoughts more and more conforming themselves to the idea of an evolution of humanity," he wrote; "more and more everything I work out takes shape with reference to this. Hence I shall look with increasing interest to the result of your effort in Brooklyn during the coming year. . . . Persevere by all means." Prof. John Fiske also gave the plan of the association his hearty approbation. "I have carefully read the inclosed synopsis," he affirmed, "and call it a noble scheme. Such lectures and discussions are just what is needed." The Hon. James S. Clarkson, the Hon. George Hoadly, and others of various party connections, actively interested in the practical aspects of our political situation, personally and in an extensive correspondence also expressed their profound interest in our work, and their confidence in its supreme importance as a means of political education.

Superficially it may appear that we already have an *embarras de richesses* of political discussions, particularly in our presidential years. The projectors of these lectures, however, had quite another object in view than that of adding to the literature of partisan debate. Their aim has been to approach the current topics of political controversy

from an entirely different point of view—that of the scientific method as exemplified in modern evolutionary sociology.

The ordinary modes of political discussion on the one hand are empirical, appealing to superficial, one-sided, and half-digested facts of our existing social status, and on the other hand *a priori* and metaphysical, deducing partisan dogmas from assumed universal postulates of ethics, economics, and social science. The writers upon these topics have hardly caught the first gleam of the light which has thrown its saving beams upon other fields of research and investigation—the light of a true historical method based upon the perception that society and institutions are growths, not manufactures, and that genuine progress and improvement in politics and government can only come through recognition and obedience of the scientifically ascertained laws of social growth.

The manifest failure of political parties to secure the amelioration and cure of evils universally recognized in our present social conditions—evils of poverty, of crime, of taxation, of immigration, of race conflict, of land exhaustion, of municipal maladministration, of the unstable and unscientific relation and adjustment of public and private enterprise—and the tacitly confessed inability of the advocates of the two diverse and discredited methods of political discussion above described to meet on common intelligible ground and convince rational minds of the wisdom and efficacy of either mode of procedure, has given rise to a medley of political theorizing and experimentation—socialistic, nationalistic, anarchistic, and what not—exploited by political conjurors, aiming by the magical talismans of mechanically devised panaceas to "abolish poverty" and revolutionize society, but even more unscientific and futile in their schemes for social amelioration than the older partisan advocates.

This volume proposes no such magical panacea for our social and political ills. It does not assume to definitively indicate the final settlement of the questions herein discussed. It is rather the modest John the Baptist of a new political method—the method of science and evolution. Recognizing the relativity of knowledge in this as in other fields of discussion, this method constitutes the only ground whereon people of diverse views and philosophic students of societary problems can amicably meet with a rational hope of ultimate substantial agreement in matters of public policy. On the intelligent acceptance of this method we firmly believe depend not only the unity and prosperity of our own beloved America, but of all the nations of the world. Its blind or willful rejection means the progressive decay of civic virtue and the steady decline and final extinction of national life.

Questions dividing the public mind have herein, as far as possible, been presented from contrasting points of view with candor and fairness, the advocates of each aiming to justify their positions by appeals to the scientific method and the recognized principles of social evolution. This we believe renders these lectures in their printed form adapted to sustain the interest of the reader as they did that of the large and intelligent audiences which attended their oral delivery, and to provoke fruitful thought and wise action on political issues as certainly as the ordinary heated appeal of the emotional orator, unhappily too familiar in our political campaigns, serves to produce the contrary effect of intensifying preconceived and unscientific partisan prejudices.

Recognizing with Mr. Herbert Spencer that "the end which the statesman should keep in view as higher than all other ends is the formation of character," the ethical bearing of the topics under discussion has been kept steadily in mind. Nor have we failed to remember with Prof. Le Conte that "the most potent factor in human progress is not found in organic evolution, but in the voluntary co-operation of man in his own evolution."

Nobly to inspire such voluntary co-operation and rightly to guide the activities flowing from it has been the aim, we are sure, of all who have contributed to these discussions. It is confidently hoped, therefore, that they may not only be immediately helpful in suggesting the true solution of the problems now at issue in America, but permanently useful in educating the public mind and inspiring confidence in the method of science and evolution as the efficient means of promoting fullness of life and lasting prosperity in the nation as well as in the individual citizen. With this hope, this book is commended not only to the attention of the individual reader, but also to political clubs, leagues, and schools of political science throughout the country.

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THE DUTY OF A PUBLIC SPIRIT

BY

E. BENJAMIN ANDREWS, LL. D.

PRESIDENT OF BROWN UNIVERSITY

COLLATERAL READINGS SUGGESTED:

Bryce's The American Commonwealth; Storey's Politics as a Duty and as a Career; De Tocqueville's Democracy in America, and American Institutions; Stickney's Democratic Government; Spencer's Justice; Fiske's Civil Government in the United States; Lieber's Political Ethics; Macy's Our Government; Tiedeman's The Unwritten Constitution of the United States; Sidgwick's The Elements of Politics.

THE DUTY OF A PUBLIC SPIRIT.

By E. Benjamin Andrews, D. D., LL. D.

In an old Jewish chronicle there is depicted a beautiful scene, which suggests a deal of gospel for our day. The great prophet of Israel, Elijah's successor, lies upon his death-bed. King Joash bends over him, and, mindful of the eminent and unremitting public service of the man, who will have no successor in this, cries out in agony that Israel's central hope, the main defense of the state, is departing, its standing army, as it were—for the war-chariot was in Israel now the chief arm of military strength—"My father, my father, the chariots of Israel and the horsemen thereof vanish in thy death! Our army is no more. We are a prey to our foes soon as thou, with thy wise counsels and thy patriotic heart, art gone."

Elisha was worthy of this tribute. Unlike Elijah, he was no monk. With him duty meant not meditation, still less moping, but life—earthly life, too—actively, practically lived. According to his creed, the perfection of walking with his Maker was usefully to walk with men. He had not immured himself in a cave in order to be at peace with his conscience. His goodness had shown itself rather in all sorts of acts useful to his fellow-men. According to the story, which is unquestionably a good analogue of the exact facts of Elisha's life, it was his joy, when need arose, to increase a widow's stock of provision. At his intercession, a dear child given up for dead had been laid back living into its mother's arms. He had furnished food for one hungry company, and rendered innocuous that of another when it had been poisoned.

Not alone kindness and charity to special individuals marked the temper of this religious hero, but still more an intense civic spirit, broadening out into philanthropy, a zeal for the welfare of men far and wide. A benign act, at the request of the citizens of Jericho, purifying their water-supply, began his prophetic career. Though not a fighting man, he took the field with the armies of his country, placing all his natural and all his prophetic skill at the service

of kings and generals. Once, when the forces faced the enemy but were dying of thirst, he won the campaign by revealing copious supplies of water. In civil matters as well he was always ready with his aid. Prophet, he was often virtually prime minister. Imperfect, unrighteous, irreligious, idolatrous as his country and its institutions were in his age, he would not desert or renounce them. Even when siege and famine pressed and men were dying by scores on every hand, Elisha remained by, content to fare—nay, determined to fare—no better than the rank and file of Israel fared.

Stanch patriot that he was, the prophet had an enthusiasm for humanity, overleaping the bounds of his own land and nation, which for those times was veritably miraculous. It made him cosmopolitan in his feeling. He healed of a deadly disease the chief captain in the host of his nation's worst enemy, Syria, sending him back to his home and his sovereign whole and happy. Having captured a hostile force by special stratagem and not by superiority in war, he forbade that they should be smitten, but ordered them fed and set free to march back to their own camp. In return, when on one occasion he visited the court of King Ben-Haded of Syria, he was received with rare honor, and consulted in reference to the high affairs of that foreign state.

From this brief survey of Elisha's manner we see what an idea he had and carried out touching the attitude which a good man ought to hold toward public matters. He was a devotee of religion, specially called to teach the divine will, to promote righteousness in the land; but, notwithstanding this, or rather just on this account, he was interested in everything that went on in the state—if it was good, to promote it; if evil, to denounce it and put it down. He thought of his public spirit not as inimical to his religious experience or influence, or as a lingering manifestation of depravity to be tolerated like the imperfect morality of the Mosaic law, but as the direct and most precious product of the Eternal Spirit manifesting itself in him.

Herein this distinguished Old Worthy beautifully anticipates modern Christianity. Both in his precepts and in his example of living to do good, the founder of Christianity enjoins men to make all human interests their care. We are to love our neighbors as ourselves. No fussy inter-

ference with others' concerns is commanded, but a positive, outgoing, brotherly kindness, leading a man to do for others all the good he can, spending himself for his kind and dying for them, if need is. Even to Cæsar we are to render what is his, never grudging. The disaffection toward human government which the Church of the second and third centuries betrayed, leading Tertullian, among others, to identify the Roman Empire with Satan's kingdom and placing the Church during some ages in most unpleasant contrast with contemporary Stoic philosophy—that was not from Jesus Christ, but diametrically opposed to his teaching.

The Apostle Paul knows this. He preaches that whoso resisteth the power—which then was the Roman power—resisteth the ordinance of God; and he suits his action to this doctrine of his. When pressed by the bloodthirsty bigots of his race and religion, he appeals to Cæsar to save him from death at their hands. In Elisha's creed, constructive, making religion holily secular, prophet, apostle, and Great Teacher are perfectly at one.

I need not say that this view of righteousness is in our time exceedingly rare. With most men who call themselves religious, the Church is the only field of God's immediate activity. Many secular moralists feel much the same way. The state, society, the busy life of mankind, they despise as something mean and of trifling consequence, if not devil's affairs out and out. Men not serious at all, noticing the indifference of so many professedly and actually conscientious people toward all purely public matters, are confirmed in their selfish tendency to let society go its way alone, so that they ignore its interests save when they see chances to advantage themselves by manipulating them.

It thus comes to pass that unselfish and constant regard for public affairs is a phenomenon. There is occasional interest. We love our country. At elections we cheer ourselves hoarse for our candidates and platforms, and by no means all that is selfish. Let our country be attacked by traitors from within or by enemies from without, mighty armies would rise in a day of men ready to die for her. But zeal of this sort is sporadic, unsteady, intermittent. Would-be good citizens forget that peace needs its heroes no less than war, that the social structure may fall from dry rot as well as from a cannonade. They imagine that the state no less than the soul has a necessary immortality; that

like a cork it may dance about upon the water, now tossed up and apparently unsupported, and again for an instant submerged, but can not sink.

I have hinted that much of this coldness toward public affairs comes from men's sheer selfishness, narrow-heartedness, disposition to care for nothing that does not palpably and closely concern themselves. But you can not trace it all to that source. It is due in large measure to certain false views, partly religious and partly philosophical, which have had and still have alarming vogue.

On the religious side we have been trained for generations sharply to distinguish between the sacred and the secular, and to place political and social duties in the secular class. It is of course urged that a good man should carry his morality everywhere, always be honest, do all the good possible, set a helpful example, and so on; and not seldom nowadays are we explicitly admonished by religious teachers that there are no hemispheres to a good man's life: that it is all one continent, solid and continuous. But this is not yet the general tone of religious speech, and nowhere has it sufficiently taken effect. Sunday is the Lord's day; Monday, not Satan's exactly, but neutral, somehow. The prayer is religious, the trade is—what it is. If I devoutly attend church, I advance myself toward heaven; if I plunge into business, however legitimate, strange if I am not reputed a worldling, spite of sincerest piety on my part.

Equally strenuous has been the dogma of the Church to the effect that heaven, eternity, is the final cause of man's life on earth. This existence, it is held forth, has meaning only for the next. So persistently has this doctrine been inculcated that most of us believe it and act upon it, notwithstanding the protests we inwardly make in our more spiritual moments. In vain do we reflect that a piece of time well used here on earth in the active love of man must be as beautiful a thing as any equal measure of eternity can be. In vain do we consider the earthly life of Jesus Christ so rich that, do our best, we can not conceive his subsequent or any existence a whit richer—it is a second nature with us to subordinate the present state in importance unit by unit to the world to come.

Now, the state, politics, society, the eager life of man among men, confessedly belong to this world. They are relations which, in their present form, seem finite and temporary. No wonder that we despise them; no wonder that,

with all our contempt for the monkery of old, we are of the monk's own spirit still, living each of us in his cell, only a little wider than once, and with glass doors through which we may *look* at a little of the world. A great deal of secular teaching confirms people in these false ideas.

Very prevalent still is the mistake which the political philosophy of a crude age bequeathed us, of society and the state as arbitrary creations, not attaching to man in a condition of nature, but artificially fadged on later. Nothing could be shallower than this theory; nothing more contradictory to common sense or history. Very deep, when understood rightly, is that thought of the Old Testament that society was instituted by God himself, who deemed it "not good for man to be alone"—a sentence whose main reference is not to the single family, but to the greater family of mankind. It means that the origination of the social state is no less than the production of man himself, one of the nodes, ganglia, or starting-points in the evolution of the universe. In the doctrine of man as a political animal Moses anticipates Aristotle, as Aristotle anticipates modern sociology.

The New Testament utters the same thought when it says that the powers that be are ordained of God; not the special type of civil rule which happens to exist at any given time—republic, aristocracy or monarchy—for each of these is compatible with the thought; but the essential powers of government, which any of these forms of polity must use in order to do its work.

Kindred is the error of supposing that the social organism exists simply for the sake of the individual. Even were that true, social order would be very precious, for one could still point out that only through others can you or your neighbor attain the development worthy of a man. Still, the notion of the social body as important instrumentally and no otherwise always lowers public spirit. Society is in part an end in itself. Man is greater and more glorious than any man. Final humanity is to be a kingdom, not simply a lot of perfected individuals. The totality of human relations, as a totality, is a splendid product, worthy of Almighty effort. Far from being accidental, mere scaffolding or instrumentality, it is the innermost, essential part of creation, destined to stand forever.

What, then, is the gospel for the day? It is this—that we need a larger, heartier recognition of men's dependence

upon one another, and of the moral and religious duties springing out of this close relationship. As no man can live to himself, so none ought to wish to do so. We are members one of another, and should so regard ourselves. If one suffers, all are hurt. The true weal of one is a blessing to the rest.

Men pride themselves upon family, blood, estate. You scorn to associate with so-and-so because he is of plebeian stock. Friend, in ten generations your blood will flow in the very same veins with his, and in less time than that descendants of yours will be serving descendants of his for wages. With absolute literalness is it true that men are made out of one blood to dwell on all the face of the earth.

The water which supplies the power for the new mills at Kearney, Nebraska, has a peculiar source. As you follow it up-stream, all at once the canal ends, and you wonder how on earth it is kept continually full. No lakes or ponds appear in the vicinity, yet, summer and winter alike, that mighty tide sweeps forward with steady volume. Travelers have journeyed thousands of miles to see this supposed freak of nature. But to the geologist it is no mystery. The canal simply unearths waters of the distant Platte River, which are now known to course underground far on both sides of the visible channel. Canal and river seem diverse, yet are in fact but one stream in two parts, starting up in the eternal snows above, and meeting again at the mouth of the Kearney flume, to roll on together down to the infinite sea. Even so it is with your blood and that of the poor pariah whom you spurn from your door.

The operative in yon cotton factory, if asked why he can earn, say, two dollars a day, would reply that it is because he has such and such strength, skill, and fidelity, making reference to no condition not inhering in himself. But look closer. That he may earn such wages, the factory must be there, with its owners and their capital. Builders of factories and machinery must exist, with their respective plants and groups of workmen, each man in all these groups being bound in the same meshwork of relationships as the operative in question. There must, still further, be men working Southern cotton-fields, every one dependent upon outside co-operation in this same way; people engaged in the manufacture of implements for cotton-raising; people building and running steamboats and railways to transport the various wares mentioned; human beings in all lands who wish

cotton fabrics and have means to buy them; morality, customs, and laws making traffic and possessions secure; and preachers, teachers, writers, legislators, judges, police, and army, giving sustenance to laws and morals. Let any one of these conditions fail, and the fortune of that workman is lowered, though his powers and wishes were to remain absolutely the same.

Society is in this same way a co-operator with every one in all that he is and does. What you think you accomplish is not wrought by you, but by you environed and helped as you are.

Intelligently viewed, the purely political aspect of social organization is immensely impressive. Human government is a wonderful thing—as complex and unfathomable as it is indispensable. Government is of course much more than administration. The Legislature and the Executive together are far from comprising the Government. The constitution must be reckoned in, and the courts, the great body of laws, customary and statute, the imposing array of legal maxims, traditions, and decisions, and, not least, the morality and political genius of the people, disposing them to law, order, and united action. All this in effect goes to make up government. Now, when a social-political structure of this sort, such a mighty sum of delicate relations, exists as the heritage of any people, whether they are aware of it or not, it is about the most precious possession which can possibly be theirs. The greatest earthly gift God can bestow on any of us is that of being born into a civilized community. All that you possess, whether of mental or of material stores, beyond what would be yours had you always lived in Central Africa, is due to society. It measures what other men are to you, not as so many individuals, but as men organically related. It is estimated that through this co-operation and the consequent amassing of wealth one man may today, through his own efforts, enjoy more satisfaction than he could earn in ten centuries were he obliged to begin and work without such aid.

We are more apt to value social organizations in general than we are its authoritative aspect, referred to already as government But government too is invaluable. A very poor government over a state is an infinite blessing compared with anarchy. What thoughtful citizen of the United States has not again and again thanked God that we are not as Central and South America in this respect?

Nor will government ever become unnecessary. The well-meaning reformer who wishes and expects to reduce it to mere business administration, taking from it its political character and every element of authority, is laboring under a delusion. Some power of coercion will always have to be kept up among men, not because there will forever be wicked ones in their number, for we hope that all may by and by be converted, but because men will never cease to be finite in wisdom. The best men, just because they are good, it may be, will quarrel over their supposed rights, stopping the wheels of industry. There must be the right, if necessary, to coerce them to break such a deadlock.

And, further, these infinitely valuable treasures—society and the state—are not the creatures of a day, but of all time. They are not century plants: it takes millenniums to bring them to blossom. No people by itself ever created its government in the large sense we have indicated. As Mr. Spencer has well pointed out, while the materials and instrumentalities of government are of individual origin, its structure as a whole, and its final effects, are due to a higher intelligence.

We glory—no man living more than I—in Washington, Franklin, and the other founders of our Constitution; but they did not originate this nation. They started with a civic order which already had its foundations. The English Constitution and a century of rich political development in these colonies were back of them. No more did the barons of the Great Charter found the English state. They too built upon old substructures, particularly upon a very positive tradition of free manhood, which hailed from the German forest.

Just so touching other elements of our civilization. Little of it is new save in setting. Its roots run back through ages. We have the doctrine of human brotherhood from Jesus Christ, systematic education and æsthetics from Greece, ecclesiastical organization and the best parts of our municipal law from secular Rome, international law from the papacy, navigation partly from the Phœnicians, partly from the Norsemen, rhyme and the pointed arch perhaps from the Arabs, the brick from Assyria, and the barrel from Phœnicia. Thus has humanity swept onward through the ages past, every people and century, from hoary, prehistoric antiquity down, contributing its peculiar product to make us what we are to-day.

From this point of view it is easier than when we began to understand the truth that the present social body is no individual's work; that in bringing it into being men have for the most part wrought as instruments, like coral insects building their reefs, not as agents, with clear thought of the end to be attained.

But that society has been thus far, as it were, mechanically evolved, does not imply that it is always to grow in that way. Just as the appearance of the power of abstract thought was a turning-point in evolution in general, so now, in social evolution, we are at a turning-point, which is characterized by the application of conscious thought to the direction of society. Spite of ourselves, we as individuals are to be participants in social development, to make or to mar. We may do our part in a half-conscious, listless, and slovenly way, rendering human society a clog to life, or conscious of our calling as partners with the divine, so as to render life increasingly rational and blessed. More than ever manifest in our day is the need of a conscious human guidance to society in its evolution. As the world grows older, the Great Ruler above more and more takes man into his counsel in directing it. Idle trust in God and in the so-called natural laws of social growth was once not so unsafe; but now, as population condenses, men's life together requires increased thoughtfulness on the part of men themselves. Angry problems arise that once had no existence. They will not down, nor will they solve themselves. If given efforts to reform, shape, and manage society suffer shipwreck, the proper inference is not that a let-alone policy is best, but that we need in this field still deeper study and a more consummate art.

It is a dreadful but quite necessary reflection that these inestimable gifts may be lost. The best government on earth may fall; civilization itself may suffer eclipse. Egypt was; Athens was; Rome was. Will our beloved America continue to tread the exalted road which has witnessed her career thus far, or is she one day to halt in her mighty march and then droop and perish like all the republics before her?

Such a question is forced upon one scanning certain unsocial and anarchic tendencies, in word, deed, and attitude, which obtrude themselves upon our notice in these days. You will doubtless expect me to mention as foremost among these the lawlessness of ignorant immigrants. Not at all. Head and front of all our dangers in this kind is the apathy among our best people toward social and political obliga-

tions. Mark, I do not name political obligations alone. It is not enough for all to attend caucuses and vote, helpful as that might be. We need an intenser spirit of co-operation in everything that concerns our united life. Public jobs, intended to rob us all, we of course reprobate. But there is a narrow spirit in conducting legitimate business, which, though it may perhaps help you to become rich, desperately hinders the public good. Trades-unions often plan to advantage their members, ignoring worthy men outside, and utterly regardless of the community's weal. Any body of human beings needs an immense amount of general work for which money or political preferment does not and could not pay. Too few are the men and women willing to engage in it. It is a shame that so many of our fellow-citizens shirk jury-duty, for instance, availing themselves of every possible excuse, often adding insult to injury by ridiculing the jury system and cursing the courts for the defeat of justice. To cheat the assessor or the tax collector many think well-nigh a virtue. Can such people remember that every cent they escape paying must come out of some one, and that widows, orphans, and the poor are surest to suffer from their fraud?

Unmeasured time and toil have to be spent by many, wholly without pecuniary return, in the work of institutions lacking which no community can continue civilized. Just about us, for instance, there are the city government and school committee, the directors of banks, savings banks, and other financial corporations, of hospitals and infirmaries, various State commissions, and the Board of Education, of Charities and Corrections, of Health, and many others, to say nothing of orphans' guardians, or of care for church and fraternity interests. Gigantic is the labor which all these entail; priceless is the good they do.

Well have I known business men and lawyers, after passing the day in the confining work of office, counting-room, or store, to bend at night over the accounts of some poor-fund, in which they had no earthly interest save that prompted by human kindness, and spending their hours and their best talents in hard figuring to save all the pennies for the unfortunates needing them—carrying to this work the same rigorous methods which they would have used had they expected it to win them millions.

Tasks of all these sorts have to be done or society goes to pieces; and he who will not participate in them when

necessary is, negatively if in no worse sense, an anarchist.

Another set of anarchists are those who incessantly decry all efforts at social reform, maintaining that the general welfare can never by any possibility be much if any greater than it is. Certainly, a vast deal of evil is abroad, and no one can say that the necessity of it is self-evident. Not till all possible plans of reform have been tried and have failed ought one to despair of the state; and to preach despair before that bespeaks a bad spirit. Criticism is right and a duty. We are not called to praise movements which we are sure ought to be condemned. But indiscriminate condemnation, always to find fault when men are trying to mend wrongs, is not criticism but the death of it. We must of course prove all things, but let us not fail to hold fast that which is good. If it is a sin to call evil good, it is surely no less so to call good evil.

Anarchic in its effect is it also when you impeach the motives or deny the patriotism of immense classes of citizens. We should distinguish sharply between an organization and its members. You have a perfect right to distrust the principles of a political party, but only bigots can doubt the motives of a party's entire membership. To denounce as disloyal the members of a political sect which may at any time be in a majority, is virtually to despair of the state, and that is next door to treason.

The same of great ecclesiastical or benevolent fraternities. Their creeds and platforms may contain much that is false, and all dubious utterances here as elsewhere should be discussed with perfect freedom. The bodies themselves may work great evil, so that one may wish them broken up and use all his influence to that end; but it is a different and much graver matter to insinuate that they contain no good men.

Doctrines are daily taught in the name of politics, philanthropy, and religion which, could they be carried out, would be the death of all human hopes; and for the time many accept these doctrines as true. But they can never be carried out, and should effort be made to that end, so soon as their real nature appeared, multitudes of their most ardent adherents now would turn their bitterest foes. That men profess evil tenets, or even follow vicious leaders, is no final proof that the men themselves are bad.

The point is not that sweeping criticism, the impeach-

ment of whole classes, is an error of judgment. As I said, it is anarchic. It pulls society and the state hopelessly apart and tends to subvert the best work of past generations. You can co-operate with your neighbor, however strongly you and he are opposed in views, so long as you and he trust one another's motives; but let that condition be wanting, and you feel yourselves foes, held asunder by indomitable repulsion.

Anarchism hardly less vicious than this of vituperating all who differ from you in faith or in politics, is chargeable upon those who regularly decry politics and public men. That there are venal people in political places is a sad, sad fact. When you are sure of your guilty official on valid evidence—which must be more than the speech of the street—then condemn him and his deed as you will, and follow up your sentence by voting against him at the next election. But here also we are apt to judge very loosely. We condemn processes when we ought to condemn only the abuse of them, and we too often denounce our public servants in the mass for the faults of a very few.

From much observation I am satisfied that a very large majority of the men in office in our country mean well. The villains are not numerous. Most who serve us in courts, in Congress, in legislatures, and in the various executive positions, however lacking in skill, are faithful, patriotic, industrious citizens, toiling according to their best light for the welfare of the rest of us. For my part, I can not but admire the patience and geniality which characterize most of them. And, knowing the good work they do—with all that is not so good—when I think what slender thanks they get, how flippantly we call them fools and knaves, groaning when they convene and cheering when they adjourn, I wonder that more of them do not turn plunderers, vowing to have the game as they have the name.

The crime of such slander is so much the greater in that it mainly proceeds from people who contribute nothing but speech toward the correction of the abuses, real or alleged, which they decry. The only sort of political independence I can admire—and this kind I admire greatly—is that which is active, brave, always abounding in positive efforts for the betterment of affairs, efforts that are truly costly to those who make them. Words are cheap. Pulmonary patriotism, objurgation, inveighing, calling names—these will never make parties or their methods better. Even to adver-

tise beautiful ideals, unless you do something to realize them, will hardly render you a public benefactor. It will never convert the world.

There are many reasons for branding the wholesale abuse of public men as anarchism, among which perhaps the strongest is that, more than aught else, it precludes us from getting the very best men into office. This does not, however—and here we come upon another anarchic habit of our time—render it right for good citizens to decline office. No more useful career is possible for good men in this distressed age of ours than is presented by politics conscientiously prepared for and pursued. The common thought upon this point that it is mean to seek office, and a disgrace to accept an office unless it has sought the man, is wholly perverse. We need that hosts of thoroughly able and moral young men, well trained in political and social science, including ethics, should set politics before themselves as their life-work. Do not sneer at professional politics if only it be of the right kind. Politics ought to be a profession. Rightly followed, it would be a noble one.

That these necessary changes may come to pass, a more elevated thought is required touching the ideal of official service. The notion of office as a public trust is much finer than usually prevails, but it is decidedly not the highest. Why should not any of us enter upon a public position with a truly philanthropic thought in his heart, taking the place not merely to do honestly what is expected of him, but to advance his community, his country, and the race in virtue and happiness? I pray for the day to come when every Saul will be among the prophets—rulers ruling and judges judging, under precisely the same motives which now lead enlightened missionaries to enter their calling—viz., passionate love for God and for men.

To be a public servant after that fashion requires extraordinary grace. To succeed, one must religiously cultivate the hard side of his nature, nerve to face wicked men, kindly to endure lies, libels, and the whole contradiction of the wicked against him, to have temper and yet hold his temper, to give blows—of course always in the spirit of love—as well as take them. We are in the age of the Church militant, and must fight if we would reign. Jehovah is a man of war, saith an old Scripture. With the froward he will show himself froward. We are to do the same, in the same spirit. We must, like the Great Nazarene, know what

is in men. The face which Jesus Christ wears in the wonderful picture of Titian's, the Tribute Money—betraying perfect worldly wisdom and firmness, coupled with all heavenly love—the serpent's cunning with the dove's innocence—that face speaks volumes for the sort of virtue I here commend.

But the most dangerous and reprehensible anarchy of all consists in debauching the ballot, the purity of which is vital to a free polity like ours. No Hungarian government-haters, no Italian Mafia, no Irishmen fresh from the bog, are able to do the mischief to our American institutions which is done by reputable citizens in breaking down by the use of money the civic virtue of the masses. There is no excuse for this. The best people who do it, do it thinking thereby to elect the right men and secure good laws. It will be in vain. Any temporary and apparent victory gotten so must be at the risk of a fearful reaction. You can not secure good laws by processes which inevitably kill out the spirit of law. Lawlessness must follow that course sure as night the day, and those who have thus sedulously prepared for it can not complain when they find that they themselves are the victims. When they see their property and their rights voted away, or it may be even their houses burned down, they will have themselves to thank, in that they did not trust our good old republican principles, and try as they should have done to educate the masses up to the level of them, but deliberately bribed the ignorant and the immoral, not to become good citizens, but to be and continue law-breakers and immoral. If the time shall ever come when free government, when government by the people, has to be relinquished in this goodly land for the tyranny of monarchy on the one hand, or the worse tyranny of a mob on the other, the guilt will lie mainly at the doors of those, high and low, who, knowing better, have, with money, directly or indirectly helped to eradicate in ignorant voters their already too slender sense of political duty.

I take it to be the great obligation of the hour to cultivate a conscientious secularism, a Christian worldliness, a righteous, ardent zeal for society and state, that shall devote each of us, for weal or woe, for life or death, to his fellowmen, not alone as so many individuals, with characters to be developed, but as a brotherhood, a society, a nation, susceptible of infinite development in all high forms of weal.

We need public spirit in ourselves, and the purpose and power to evoke the same in others.

When Admiral Foote, in Eastern waters, invited a heathen prince to dine with him on his flagship, and himself said grace, the heathen remarked: "That is what the missionaries do." "Well," said the gruff but godly admiral, "I, too, am a missionary."

I would that in matters of our community life we might all be missionaries.

I honor the religious missionary who goes among the heathen to acquaint them with those nobler views of life which it is our good fortune to have come by earlier than the peoples of Central Africa or East Asia; nor can I account as other than shallow the people who sneer at the work, splendid in the main, which missionaries are at this moment accomplishing in the civilization of our human brethren and sisters in foreign parts. Heaven prosper their efforts.

I honor the social missionary, who, braving the jibes and contumely of the so-called "cultivated," espouses the cause of the poor, and, on the platform, in the press, or by personal work among them, proves his ardent love for untitled humanity in its struggles against forbidding social conditions. God bless every man and woman in the noble army of those who are doing this.

The world painfully needs two more classes of missionaries still—social missionaries to the rich, and political missionaries. Where are the young men and women of means and leisure who will duly study the social problems of our time and help to their solution? Where are the consecrated sons and daughters of wealth ready to preach to their peers the obligations resting upon them?

Where are the men who will covet political careers with an evangelical spirit, preparing for, and if possible entering, public life with a determination to make it purer and more efficient, not waiting to be asked and urged to this, but seeking places of trust, competing with selfish schemers for chances to exert great power in the capital affairs of men?

May every one who can do good in any of these ways hear the voice which searched the soul of the youthful Buddha:

> "Oh, thou that art to save, thine hour is nigh,
> The sad world waiteth in its misery,
> The blind world stumbleth on its round of pain;
> Rise, Maya's Son, wake, slumber not again!"

ABSTRACT OF THE DISCUSSION.

REV. JOHN W. CHADWICK:

I wish first to commend the genial optimism of the speaker and his deprecation of party spirit. It is a common mistake to confound party spirit with public spirit. James Russell Lowell was one of those who see the distinction. He was pre-eminently public-spirited, but free from the bias of partisanship; and because he loved his country, he "loathed her public shame" of party corruption. With some, public spirit is restricted to the nation and not applied to the city. In the past there has been much civic pride. Men have thought of their city as having a personal life—as a creature with a soul, to be loved, and not merely as so many miles of streets and crowds of people. Historically, Brooklyn has but little to be proud of. She has no beautiful public buildings or great public works. But not long ago our city took the lead in civic government in the United States, and our people away from home were not ashamed to be known as Brooklynites—they ceased to sign their names to hotel registers as from New York. Lacking history and beauty to bind us, we can have a high civic ideal, and for that be proud of our city. A high development of political morality is better than fine buildings or traditions. Another point is the relation of the public life of the citizen to his domestic life. We can not have noble and beautiful domestic life where there is no public spirit. The best home life is reserved for those who come to it tired with work for others in the great stream of life outside. An instance in point is the home life of James and Lucretia Mott, who by their labors in great public causes gained strength, beauty, and divineness of character. We acquire new value for each other by devotion to large public ends.

MR. JOHN FRETWELL:

Mr. Fretwell, being introduced as an Englishman, said: I speak upon this question not as a foreigner, but as an American citizen of English birth. For, after a residence of nineteen years in this country, I have lately become a citizen in order to encourage my fellow-countrymen in Massachusetts to do likewise, and take part in solving the important political issues now before the country. Mr. Parke Godwin, at the recent celebration of the anniversary of the settlement of Germantown, told the Germans that they had a good deal to forget

in coming to this country. But he failed to recognize the fact that public spirit is not confined to any one country. The Emperor of Germany and the Queen of England are doubtless as public-spirited as any one in America. If the common people are not, they will doubtless become so as their interests in the government are extended; though we are warned by the terrible example of the French Republic, seeking alliance with the basest elements, that we must not cast off our old institutions too quickly. Europe can to-day furnish us with some good object-lessons. For examples of the best municipal government we do not look to Tammany-ridden New York, or to San Francisco with its "boss," but to the German Berlin and the English London. Mr. Fretwell deprecated the interference with individual liberty by such laws as the prohibitory liquor law, saying that it is openly disregarded in communities where it has been placed upon the statute books—even by officials whose duty it is to enforce it; and the open disregard of one law by a man in public life leads other citizens to think they can break the laws with impunity. Legislation of this kind tends to undermine a genuine public spirit.

Dr. Andrews replied briefly, emphasizing some of the points which he had made in his address.

THE STUDY OF APPLIED SOCIOLOGY

BY

ROBERT G. ECCLES, M. D.

AUTHOR OF THE EVOLUTION OF MIND, THE RELATIVITY OF KNOWLEDGE, ETC.

COLLATERAL READINGS SUGGESTED:

Spencer's The Study of Sociology; Bascom's Sociology; Ward's Dynamic Sociology; Bagehot's Physics and Politics; Harris's *Method of Study of Social Science*, in Journal of the American Association of Social Science, 1879; Giddings's *Province of Sociology*, in Annals of American Academy of Political and Social Science, 1890; Atkinson's The Study of Politics; Froude's Short Studies in Great Subjects (The Science of History and The Cat's Pilgrimage); Lubbock's Prehistoric Times.

THE STUDY OF APPLIED SOCIOLOGY.

By R. G. Eccles, M. D.

Can we have a Science of Society?

Many intelligent persons have seriously questioned the possibility of our being able to construct a science out of the material at our command as found in the history of human experience. Froude, the historian, is a notable example of this kind of skeptic. Of course, if such a science can not be constructed, the subject is worth no further attention. Is there, then, any rational hope of our gaining knowledge of society susceptible of systematic classification? Are there discoverable natural laws underlying the growth of nations and the collective deeds of men? Are the forces that take part in this growth and in these movements interchangeable with the other forces of Nature? Can we ever hope to be able to make an approximate estimate of quantity regarding the same? If miracles and special providences step in to overturn the causal continuity and introduce new additions of freshly created energy, such a science is an absurdity. If at every fresh act of human will the conservation of energy is violated, there can be nothing calculable, knowable, or classifiable. Creative caprice and prescient knowledge are irreconcilable things. This being the case, the attitude every individual will assume must depend upon his philosophical convictions or theological belief.

Mr. Froude asks if we can imagine a science that would have foretold Mohammedanism, Buddhism, Mormonism, or Christianity, or of one that could discover the lost secret of the founding of Rome. He says: "The greatest of Roman thinkers, gazing mournfully at the seething mass of moral putrefaction around him, detected and deigned to notice among its elements a certain detestable superstition, so he called it, rising up amid the offscouring of the Jews, which was named Christianity," and then asks if Tacitus "could have looked forward nine centuries to the Rome of Gregory VIII and beheld the representative of the Cæsars holding the stirrup of the pontiff of that vile and execrated

sect," whether "the spectacle would have appeared to him the fulfillment of a rational expectation or an intelligible result of the causes in operation around him." (Short Studies in Great Subjects—The Science of History.)

The power of prevision in every science is limited. The unexpected occurs in them all. If Froude's objections are insuperable barriers to the erection of a science of sociology, they can find their counterparts in physics, chemistry, and biology, so that these too should be impossible. Was the production of electric telegraphs, telephones, and electric motors from the simple force developed by rubbing amber the fulfillment of any rational expectation? Are the brilliant colors now imparted to silks and woolens by aniline dyes and the sweet taste of saccharine probable products of the contents of black coal-tar? What biologist would ever have dreamed that *Anacharis canadensis*, so innocent of harm at home, should, on introduction to European waters, exterminate native water-plants there and block up navigable streams? There is no department of inductive science where, prior to the acquisition of experience of a given type, prevision concerning that type is possible. In every such case the unexpected is sure to occur.

The Data of Sociology.

That society is an orderly growth, subject to conditions that are often predictable and obeying determinable natural laws, is manifest by a study of its present structure and a comparison with its past. The highly complex division of labor now apparent is found to steadily diminish in complexity backward in time; and the arrested forms from nomadic savagery, through barbarism and states of semi-civilization up to our present condition, indicate this same growth and obedience to the law of evolution. The growths of language, customs, and legislation all show effects following distinctly traceable causes. No element of caprice can be found breaking the chain or upsetting the orderly sequence.

In his unsocial, wandering life early man was at the mercy of his environment. Each successive step of associative co-operation lent him a new power to overcome his foes. Those that refused to co-operate, in regions where single-handed they were unable to cope with their adversaries, necessarily became exterminated. Cohesions that were non-adapted after a time would either split up again or be

destroyed by internal dissension. Natural selection was thus constantly at work, both in the environments of societies and within their structures, killing out the unfit and preserving the fit. The more profound and thoroughly organized the internal adaptations became, the more certain was the survival of the society. The larger the number of persons that could establish a thoroughgoing harmony among themselves, the more formidable they became to their outer foes and the greater became the happiness among themselves. The greater the division of labor, the better the work was done and the more satisfactory the results in the total. The lesson of all time, everywhere enforced, is that it is better to do one thing well than a hundred things badly; and if an individual or class tries to do a hundred things instead of one, they are sure to be done badly. Progress is always from diffusion of function to centralization of function, and retrogression from limitation to diffusion. Whenever any one advocates the taking of any duty from the few and giving it to the many, he is advocating retrogression. All functioning began in diffusion, and with the flight of time has ever been becoming more and more restricted save where stagnation, disease, and death were entering.

To build up a science of society we must study social growth and the causes that conspire to bring it about. We will thus discover what kinds of acts are desirable and what injurious. We will observe that some movements lead inevitably to strength, stability, and happiness, while others with equal certainty bring weakness, discomfort, and destruction. Such knowledge, once acquired, will enable its possessors to foresee the probable consequences of movements about to be made and enable them to discriminate between practicable and Utopian ideas. It will show them that every legislative act is either in agreement with the normal direction of growth or against it, and therefore to be commended or condemned by a far-seeing and accurate standard rather than by a narrow and unreliable one. It will teach them that social laws are as fixed and inviolable as gravity, and that therefore legislative bodies, instead of trying to "make" laws, should gather together facts and, from a study of these, discover them.

In this, as in every other science, before any attempt can be made at reaching conclusions the phenomena must be mastered in detail. The building material of society must be critically examined and the forces capable of playing

upon it measured as to quantity and quality. An engineer who should attempt to build a Brooklyn Bridge without a knowledge of steel cables, the strain they are capable of bearing, and the forces they must resist, could not be expected to give us good results. The man who aspires to a scientific study of society must know the stuff out of which society is built, through and through. He must know every human point of weakness and strength. Physiological psychology he must be master of. The strength and weakness of every prejudice of importance, the power of every superstition, the amount of control logic can exert on different classes, the effect and persistence of habits acquired and hereditary, the biases of class, education, and patriotism, the physiological and educational basis of morality, and the laws of biological adaptation, must be known. He must be able to gauge the probable volume of passion, fear, or enthusiasm likely to be let loose by certain acts or doctrines. He must know something of the structure of the nervous system, must have learned how we have acquired the sympathetic and moral natures we possess, must be able to perceive the different capacities of different races and nationalities as well as the most pronounced mental and physical differences in the sexes. Without knowing how man came to be moral, he would be likely to defend systems that would reverse the nervous conditions that have made us moral, and so lead the race toward a universal immorality. There are conditions that must be obeyed or life is impossible; there are others that must be obeyed or society is impossible, and there are still others that make certain forms of society possible. There are individuals whose natures and training forbid their harmonizing with certain forms of society. Every well-established society is the form of greatest stability for the units composing it. To alter such societies would require a corresponding alteration in the dispositions and training of its units. No one would think of trying to build a perpendicular wall of cannon-balls. No one should think of trying to build a smooth and perpendicular social structure from the rough cobble-stones of humanity. Every chemist knows how different are the crystals which are formed by different kinds of matter. They all coalesce in their own distinctive forms of greatest stability as determined by the natures of their molecules. Societies are built of individuals as crystals are of molecules, and though you tore them down a thousand times with the hope that

they would come together again according to some preconceived ideal, if they withstood the ordeal they would only drop back again and again into the old ruts. With the same absolute fidelity that this written page has to the present contents of my mind is the present structure of society to its inherent forces. Nor is it possible to easily or rapidly alter either the forces or the individuals.

Habit and Education.

We are all creatures of habit, and our habits are usually fastened upon us by education. Most things we do and say are but part of the mechanical propulsion of social movement. Thoughts and deeds that circumstances have forced a frequent repetition of get woven into our nervous structures as second nature. In school, in the street, in the workshop, at the counter, everywhere and throughout our lives, we are directed and forced into the fixed methods of the social treadmill. The structures we receive at birth have a certain degree of mobility so that we can be adapted to the whole range of permanent events within the activities of our race. A child can not be adapted to the life of a fish, a bird, or a monkey. A civilized child can not be adapted to the life of the lower savages. It can, however, become fitted to almost any form of society from barbarism up to the upper limit fixed by its structure. The upper limit varies widely with the inherent latent intelligence. Adapt a child to any form of life within the limits of its inherent capabilities, and on reaching manhood the power to change to other forms is almost or entirely lost. Children take to superstitions or dogmas of the not too distant past because they are on a level with their mental growth. In fact, they inherit a bias toward them. Keep them pondering on such matters till age creeps on, and a hardened brain will then refuse to open up new nerve paths. Aged people can not change from the habits and methods of thought of the past except within very narrow limits, in spite of their maturity of thought. Children travel in the way adults direct, not having mental capacity even to conceive of new routes. We can not have wise and non-superstitious children till we have wise and non-superstitious adults to teach them. We can not have wise and non-superstitious adults as teachers till we have children trained in wisdom and against superstition. The habits of the past are upon the teacher,

and he fastens them upon the pupil. Even where teachers have broken the crust of habit, parents will not tolerate the teaching to children of things that run counter to their own early education. The past holds the present in a grasp of iron. The task which the owl gave the cat, in Froude's Cat's Pilgrimage, is the puzzle the sociologist has incessantly laid before him. Pussy wanted the owl to tell her how to be happy. "Meditate, O Cat! meditate," said the owl. "From the beginning our race have been considering which first existed, the owl or the egg. The owl comes from the egg, but likewise the egg from the owl. From sunrise to sunset I ponder on it, O Cat! When I reflect on the beauty of the complete owl, I think that must have been first, as the cause is greater than the effect. When I remember my own childhood, I incline the other way."

All existing social conditions are related to all past social conditions as is the owl to the egg. Reformers who want new types of social birds often forget that they have no corresponding eggs to hatch them from. They think they can start *de novo*. Like the owl, they believe that one or other must come first. The fact is that nothing ever has been or ever can be started in this way. All of Nature's processes are evolutionary. By slow modification she steadily changes both bird and egg till the proper pattern finally appears. Neither owl nor egg was first. From the limitless depths of time, egg and bird have changed and changed in infinitesimal amounts until at last from a common pair have come owls and crows, hawks and eagles, sparrows and mocking-birds. Do you wish to see the race freed from superstition? Then help to modify the egg being hatched in the schoolboy's mind by slightly modifying the bird that lays it. Do not waste effort in trying to develop a full-fledged new and before unknown bird, for you can not do it. Do you seek Civil Service Reform? Never expect a race of white blackbirds to develop suddenly among black blackbirds. Even if a white sport should suddenly and apparently by accident appear, do not hope for its permanence. Years and years of natural selection is the only thing to rely upon. You must have white blackbird eggs from white blackbirds before you can hope for permanence. We hope by magic to emancipate all from poverty, but the same old bird of poverty keeps on hatching broods of its own kind. We try to vote down professional politicians and put work-

ingmen in their stead, only to find at last that we have hatched another brood of professional politicians.

Average man, like the average material of an owl's egg, is only capable of producing corresponding results. We can by patient, slow, and patience-trying effort modify, bit by bit, but we can make no leaps. The pain, the sorrow, the misery, the poverty, the hunger, and the slavery complained of are the birds hatched from the eggs which have been laid. Human immoralities are the eggs, misery and suffering the birds. As rapidly as we are able to modify selfishness into altruism and the desire for liquor into a desire for cleanliness, so rapidly will we rid the world of poverty, but in no other way and with no greater speed. Immorality produces poverty, and poverty produces immorality. They are related to each other as owl and egg. We can not legislate selfishness or habits of personal vice from men, and as long as these exist we must endure their progeny. No social paradise can be constructed from the kind of beings that at present people the earth. We can go on endeavoring to institute reforms and modifying existing conditions, but we must then wait for the slow passage of time. The old proverb of "the more haste the less speed" is particularly applicable here. The methods of reformers are very often methods calculated to retard progress and lead retrogressionward. The desire for hasty results introduces an element of impetuosity that hinders, and their determination to produce independent organizations is a fatal blunder. The laws of social growth are in antagonism to their ways. It would be folly to hope to rapidly modify the polity of the earth by taking up our abode in Mars, or to sway the social currents of the United States by residing in Germany. You might write, talk, and scold till you were gray, and you would never get a step nearer your destiny. Whoever wants to improve politics must begin and continue his work within the old parties, or he can never do it well. If you seek to advance religion properly you must be a church member. If you want to improve any society at a maximum rate of speed you must be a member of the same. Do you seek to materially improve the social condition of the poor, then get within touch of the poor by associating with them. If you want to save a soul from destruction you must get into heartfelt sympathy with that soul. The secret of the power of the Irish people in American politics lies in their working within one of the great parties. Had they organized a party

of their own they would have remained ciphers in national affairs. Freethinkers imagine themselves the destroyers of superstition and conventionalism. They are nothing of the kind to any great extent. Most of this kind of work is done by the liberal-minded men within the Church. Mugwumps do little toward advancing purer politics when out of the old parties. Progress is due to the liberal-minded men who cling to the organized forms of the old parties. Neither eggs nor owls can be made *de novo*, and you can only modify them toward higher forms by coming near enough to touch them. A great majority of those who cling to antiquated forms are totally unfit for higher. To talk such people into the new order of things does not really cause them to progress. The gain is only superficial and apparent. A parrot has really made no progress by being taught to speak. It can not understand its own words. Multitudes of people are by education made to imitate the parrot. Every teacher in a college has often met students that could answer correctly all or most of their questions, and yet they have been morally certain that these same students understood nothing of the principles and facts they could so glibly enunciate. Edison's phonograph can repeat whole sermons and the wisest sayings of sages. Yet it is utterly unconscious of the meaning of what it is able to say. School children are constantly taking in knowledge as a sponge does water, and yet have no capacity fitting them to really understand such knowledge. Indeed, a very careful examination would show us that everybody does this to some extent. There are all degrees of the habit. The best of us are often apt to utter thoughts that are not ours, and quarrel about opinions we have no adequate conception of. Our ways of thinking, like the words we use in talking, are a heritage of the race which, in a few of us, have been modified by environment. Like the clothes we wear, our thoughts have a definite pattern fixed upon them which we dare not choose to alter. When we greet a friend with "Good morning," what do we mean? It seems a senseless piece of jargon. It is a habit we have been drilled into and is abbreviated from "God be with you this morning." If these are not parrot-like acquired expressions it would be difficult to find any. Most men follow the religion of the place where they spend their childhood, instead of trying to have an independent opinion on such matters. Men and women who have been raised in Christian communities think

as Christians, talk as Christians, and reason like Christians, even after they have discarded the distinctive tenets of Christianity. Those raised in the Mohammedan countries are subject to all the limitations and enslaved by all the methods of the Mohammedans. Some of us vainly imagine ourselves emancipated from this servility, but it is mere self-delusion. In gathering data for sociology such facts must receive due consideration. To expect a man who has been educated a Brahmin to reach the same conclusions from the same presentation of facts as one would who had been trained as a Christian, is to look for results that are very unlikely ever to occur. It is easy enough, after ascertaining the habits of thought of an individual or race, to predict the conclusions that may be arrived at by them from given facts, but not before.

The Bearing of Statistics on the Problem.

Whatever our belief may be concerning the power of the will, these facts of established habit show pretty plainly that some of our doings are as automatic and predictable as those of a machine. When the statisticians average up the multitude, a good deal of rather unexpected order is seen to reside in events that look most capricious. The number of absent-minded people seems to be a pretty constant one, and the queer acts they do during their fits of abstraction equally as constant. We can tell in advance, within a narrow margin, the number of undirected, misdirected, and imperfectly directed letters that will be mailed in a year. We can foresee the average number of such that will contain money, checks, and other valuables. We know about how many people will commit suicide and how they will do it. The proportion of deaths to births and to the total population is so steady a quantity that an error of the census-taker can be discovered by a display of vital statistics. It can not be much of a surprise to learn that a given number of people will consume a given number of hats, coats, pantaloons, or pairs of shoes, but what can we think of the statistics of drug importations when we learn that the amount of physic used, of any given kind, is so constant that, with few exceptions, it can readily be foretold from year to year. Book publishers, after a little experience, soon come to know how large an edition can be consumed of a given cast of novel, history, or work in science. The number of crimes of a given kind is a pretty

constant one from year to year for the same region, unless a great social wave of some kind comes along, when they may be expected to increase or diminish according to the character of such change.

Besides the steady ebb and flow of predictable events of the kinds enumerated there are others that at first seem to defy all law. They come as fashions. The fashion once begun, rises to a maximum and finally wanes. They come and go like contagious diseases. There are fashions in the choice of method that will be used by suicides in destroying themselves, by murderers in how they shall take the lives of others There are fashions in the kinds of books that will be published and read, in the kinds of plays that will attract the public to theatres, in the kinds of songs that will be sung, and in the kinds of medicines doctors will prescribe for their patients, just as much as there are fashions in the dresses ladies wear. When these fashions appear it is easy to predict that, as a rule, conservative people will be the last to consider and adopt them and radical people first. In making such predictions we are following the scientific method of inductive reasoning. Instead of drawing conclusions from things as we think they ought to be, we find out just how they are. Learning that under given circumstances certain things have occurred, we assume that under the same circumstances a repetition is highly probable.

The Direction of Social Movement.

All movement, social as well as physical, is in the direction of least resistance, or of greatest traction. The whole race is seeking the way of greatest self-interest, and whatever may be the average decision as to what is deemed this way, out of the contending struggle has come progress. A narrowly ignorant and selfish man thinks that his interests demand looking out purely for self, regardless of consequences to others. A more liberal-minded individual sees in self-sacrifice a surer road to true self-interest. In both extremes and all the means lies the impulse that, like the steam of a locomotive, urges the race along either to happiness or to misery. If narrow selfishness best suited the requirements of the race, the narrowly selfish man would have the advantage of his fellows in the struggle for existence. He would, on the average, make more friends than any one else, and as the reaction of friendship is prosperity, he would be

favored in the struggle for existence. Natural selection would kill off and make poor more of those unlike him than of those like him. But people do not like narrowly selfish people. Even those narrowly selfish themselves detest narrow selfishness in others. Other things being equal, therefore, narrow selfishness is likely to pull down its possessor in the fight. But self-sacrifice is not always a virtue. To try to be perfectly self-sacrificing in a world where those around us are not equally intent on the same object is to try to commit suicide. In theory it is fashionable for us to commend unselfishness always and everywhere, and to condemn selfishness as wholesalely. In practice we are much more sensible. Extreme unselfishness can lead to as bad consequences for the individual or the race as extreme selfishness. Natural selection is constantly tending to weed out both extremes, because they put themselves at a disadvantage in the struggle. People with both lines of bias exist, but the scythe of death is constantly trimming the borders, and the balanced individuals who are neither too virtuous nor too vicious in the mean time augment in numbers. He is the best man who can best adjust himself to his environment. Nor must he be a time-server, for the endurance of life is more than a day. His present attempts at adaptation must ever point futureward. The race is progressing, and what he does and says must always be adapted to such progress. In the great world of mechanics—this vast globe of ours—in spite of volcanoes, earthquakes, cyclones, and all apparent inequalities, there is an incessant strain toward equilibrium. In fact, these forces, while seeming to increase inequality, are actually slowly but surely leading toward the same. In the social world, in spite of revolutions, political overturnings, and heartburnings, the main current of change points persistently toward personal freedom and equity. Indeed, the very forces that we sometimes think are leading away from this are steadily working us toward it. Life is one long series of adjustments and adaptations to changing conditions. This incessantly demands reciprocal submission between man and man under the penalty of extinction for non-compliance. In the long run, we find a continuously increasing proportion of such adjustments along the line of equity. The growth of intelligence demands justice for self by every individual. An intelligent man knows when he is imposed upon and resents it. The growth of altruism compels us to demand justice for others even when they are

helpless in seeking it for themselves. We may be often the sufferers from doing a deed of justice, but as a rule of conduct we will suffer far less by pursuing a just than an unjust course. The average of the reactions always brings a large return of comfort for a large expenditure of justice. "What you sow that shall ye also reap." Equity and truthfulness are the conditions of social stability. Without these society would go to pieces. That society which possesses most of these qualities is in every way the most substantial and in a contest of power the most formidable. Every living soul insists upon justice and truthfulness for himself from others. Many of us may be willing enough to lie to others or to cheat others when our altruistic sentiments are imperfectly developed, but we are not willing that others shall do the same to us if we know it and can help it. All through society the balance of strain is toward justice; because it is the united sentiment of all we must have it for ourselves. Since we are to this extent all of one mind, the trend can readily be seen.

Facts, not Wishes, the Basis of Sociology.

Turning to the numberless whims, fancies, and ill-founded hopes we possess, this uniformity of trend can no longer be seen. In all else, except this trend toward justice and truth with the concomitant sympathy for others, the machinery of evolution relentlessly grinds its grist regardless of our desires. These grand things are traveling toward perfection, with little respect for our plans to hasten them along. If our scheme of bringing them about is not the one Nature balances herself toward, we may hope, pray, fret, curse, or denounce, yet when they come we will not have aided them a bit. If enough of us combine and so succeed in shunting society upon our ideal side-track, we can seriously retard progress, but we can not aid it save by maintaining favorable conditions. The enemy of all science everywhere and at all times has been *a priori* reasoning based on introspective data. Ignorance has, in all ages, imagined itself able, like a spider, to spin out of the contents of its own consciousness a perfect description of the universe, its processes and contents. The growth of the physical sciences has now nearly banished such vainglory from the more intelligent so far as the physical world is concerned. When, however, we turn to the field of sociology,

the same ridiculous and wholly erroneous method is pursued. People never think that their hopes are wholly unadapted to the race. What they wish for they imagine everybody else should wish for, and that it would be good for everybody else. But few persons can divest themselves of this utterly unscientific habit. They do not seem to appreciate the fact that the virtue of the world is not to be commended or supported because they like it or because anybody else likes it, and wishes for its increase. The reason why a scientific mind supports virtue is because it is a condition of social stability. Now, there are any number of people in the world who would no more understand this than Greek. They can not frame the thought in their minds. They can not see that society would go to pieces without virtue. To them a sin is a sin because it is a sin. They support virtue and oppose vice because they *feel* that the one is right and the other wrong. It is with them wholly a superstition. To try to teach such people sociology is like trying to teach a man who has been born blind how to tell green from red. Where they have been trained to believe that eating meat on Friday is a sin they have exactly the same reason or feeling for loyalty to this habit as for loyalty to personal purity, truth, or honesty. No reason except a reason of feeling has a particle of weight with them.

Logic and facts with the accuracy of mathematics have no more power of affecting their judgments than water has to penetrate the back of a duck. It is perhaps an unfortunate fact, but nevertheless a true one, that the great majority of human beings—and this too includes the educated—are utterly unable to reason on social matters in any other method than the superstitious one. As the Catholic girl who is devoted to her religion delights in refraining from eating meat on Friday, and would feel as bad or worse at an omission of this duty, from forgetting the day, as for a lapse from virtue, so many a Protestant feels that he has done a great wrong when violating the commands of the decalogue even where there is as little real reason for their support. Feelings like these some of us have after seeing the new moon over our left shoulders. In all such cases the directing force is the same in kind. It is easy enough to show a Protestant the superstitious traits of a Catholic, or a freethinker those of a Protestant, but it is usually impossible to convince any one of them that he or she has superstitious

ways. Every person who is satisfied with a feeling instead of a reason is just as superstitious, to the extent of that inclination. And who is wholly free from this? When we think that a given social change should be brought about because we *feel* that it would be right or best, we are in the clutches of superstition. The change may or may not be right, but our bias forbids our being able to decide honestly on the evidence. Not long ago the author was discussing Looking Backward with a lady of unusually high intelligence, and was more than surprised to find that the argument which she deemed most conclusive was of this kind. A very dear friend of hers, after spending a useful life, was in old age suffering from penury. She desired a system that would care for such cases and give old age generally an assurance of comfort to the last. It never occurred to her that reasons like this depending solely on sentiment were as unsafe as those of the Catholic who suffers agony if inadvertently a little meat happens to be eaten on Friday. Her feelings having prompted her conclusions, made her construe them into a solution of society's whole duty. Such sentiments of course do credit to the hearts of those who present them, but are woefully out of joint with careful judgment. In science, when feeling steps in, beware. Scientific minds are more critical of conclusions in proportion to their agreement with wishes or desires. No truly scientific mind ever believes in its own conclusions when the strong sway of hope, desire or other emotion has intervened. Such conclusions may be right, but they are far more likely to be totally wrong. Everybody desires just such conditions as will harmonize with his or her own psychical make-up. Every man's ideal for the future, where the inductive method is not supreme, is an exaggerated picture of his own desires. Ingersoll once said that "an honest God is the noblest work of man." The sociologist might say that, with the masses, an honest Utopia is the master-work of man. This dreaming of the future and building up schemes of social salvation would be all right if we were—body and soul—products of the future. Unfortunately, we are not. We were made in the past and by the past. Our structures harmonize with conditions that have gone and are going. We harmonize slightly with the immediate future, less with the somewhat remote future, less still with the more remote future, and scarcely at all with the very remote future. We harmonize with the future only in those things in which

the future resembles the past. As the resemblance disappears, the harmony of our present structures becomes less and less that of the future. This is, was, and promises ever to be, a changing universe. Conditions of adaptation in one age are those of maladaptation in the next. For this reason we can usually be pretty certain that the things and conditions that are coming are things and conditions that in many particulars we do not want. Indeed, we can not want them. They are antagonistic to our present natures. It has always been the experience of the race that the things most desired were the very things that did not come. It is as natural for us to wish for an extension and augmentation of our whims, prejudices, superstitions, and desires as for us to breathe. We simply can not help it except we put ourselves under intense restraint, and then it can only last for a little while. Indeed, we seldom know how to restrain ourselves, for we do not usually know our prejudices from our highest flights of wisdom, nor our whims from our most carefully constructed logic. When we deem ourselves free from such things we are quite certain to be enslaved most foully. The man who thinks he has no prejudices and no whims is the man who is most fully charged with them. Since on whim and prejudice or soft-hearted desire we build our ideal future, it can not be wondered at that the race has ever met with disappointment. Such foundations of sand can never stand even if we do think them the rock of eternal truth. If history emphasizes any one thing more than another it is that human ideals are everlastingly ignored by the laws of evolution. One by one they are swept into the great abyss of forgetfulness, despite the despair of their votaries, and their places are finally taken by a new-formed satisfaction with the inevitable. Adaptation is happiness, and perfect adaptation, if it could be acquired, would be the beatitude of perfect happiness. Wherever we are placed and whatever the condition, our heaven is made by fitting ourselves for that place and that condition. Whatever the future has in store for us, if we adapt ourselves to it we will be happy.

The Puritan's ideal Sabbath, for which he fought so heroically, is gone, and one that would have filled his soul with holy horror has taken its place. The dreaded black arts of chemistry and physics that our fathers thought Beelzebub was responsible for, and which they fought so hard to extinguish, are now taught to our children in schools and col-

leges. The pomp and show of dress with pride of heart that appalled them are now commended. Women that were taught, like children, to be seen and not heard when their supposed betters were around, no longer keep silent in churches, or stop to ask knowledge from their husbands at home. They are now the teachers and preachers of the age. The short hair that was as disgraceful as a lapse in virtue for women is now getting to be quite fashionable. Education, that kings and people despised and declared contemptuously was disgraceful to all but cloistered priests, is now well-nigh universal. To-day we are no nearer the millennial reign than when Isaiah prophesied and Jeremiah lamented. Where are the religions, creeds, theories, and superstitions that men bled for, were burnt at the stake for, and in many ways laid down their lives for? Each had an ideal of a redeemed race cut after its own pattern in manner of thought as well as of dress. Now they are all gone, but they did not disappear until another brood of kindred type had taken their places.

The ideals of savage man are the very reverse of those of civilized man. To the former a prospective view showing our methods and life would only give a demonstration of retrogression. Our kindness to each other, ordinary politeness, and refusing to mutilate and enslave our foes would be evidence of cowardice. Our giving up a nomadic for a settled life and that of hunter for husbandman would be sure signs that we had gone backward instead of forward. Indians think the habits of industrial men are habits fit only for squaws. To foresee a civilization like ours as the fate of their descendants would certainly not have made the early aborigines feel elated. The low tribes of the South Pacific and of Central Africa deem lying, stealing, and murdering of any one not of their own tribe as accomplishments worthy of emulation. At no time and in no condition of life has there ever been any cause for sympathy with the future except during the expansion of some newly acquired trait after habit had fixed its seal of approval. Progress comes, not by man's effort but in spite of it. Every step of progress has been contested inch by inch by man. The forces of progress, like a stream, have flowed along, and one by one taken in an individual at a time from the midst of the contending, denouncing, and decrying mass. One individual perceives the drift before the rest and calls upon all to enter it, but they scout him. Before entering, he con-

tested the ground with himself till Nature forced him to see that he was wrong and the whole race wrong. As others gain like experiences from Nature they become able to understand him and enter the stream. Events conspire to make men think. Until they do, proper cerebration can not occur. When such cerebration occurs they can not refrain from doing their part. Until it does occur there is nothing in the brain that can unfold a true system of the future. Until future changes have already begun men take no conscious part in their production. Deductive reasoning is, therefore, childish. It is well enough to conjure up fairies and good angels with magic power to establish our ideals and grant our whims, but it is foolishness to label it Science or have the least hopes of realization in fact. Children delight in building castles in the air, stringing them out hours at a time. It is a happy pastime. They foresee themselves discovering buried treasures or entering caves filled with rich gems *à l'Aladdin.* As years creep on, the dreams become less and less sweeping. They become content with smaller things. Finally, in full manhood they settle contentedly down to fight for just what they can wring from Nature day by day. As with the man, so with the race. In the problems of sociology very many are yet in the stage of green, inexperienced youth. They picture great changes, and all harmonizing with their most selfish desires. Earth is going to become a paradise. "Houris for boys, omniscience for sages, and wings and glories for all ranks and ages." Their hopes are boundless and their dreams grand. They depict their Utopias without stint or fear of surfeit, never once stopping to ask whether in the equilibration of social forces such things are foredoomed. Such dreaming unfits us for the earnest work of real coming life. It causes us to attempt the execution of crazy plots fit only for a madhouse. It makes us neglect facts, and, worse still, suppress facts that ought to be known and fully weighed. Full-grown minds relinquish all such air-castle building. They have discovered that their wishes are far from being Nature's decrees. They make the question, "What ought we to do?" subordinate to "What can we do?" They seek to get as near the "ought" as possible, but in discovering what the "ought" should be they consult objective facts, not subjective fancies. It is a very great pity that so many educated men and women—educated as education now goes—waste brain power lingering in the delirium of the enchanting

pastime here depicted. So deluded indeed are they that they come to consider it superior, as science, to the substantial structure of a sociology built upon objective facts that assumes nothing, wishes nothing, and makes no ideals. Like Jesus in Gethsemane, true sociologists are content to say: "Not my will, but thine, O Nature, be done."

Some Misleading Fancies.

Ignorance is never conscious of itself as such. We all have a weakness for having an opinion of our own on matters of which we know nothing, and we are usually free to back that opinion with considerable vim. We are honest in this and really think that others are as much in the dark as ourselves. As we come in contact with others who have made a special study of such subjects and we gradually absorb a few of their facts, it dawns upon us that possibly they were right after all. This renders us less belligerent and perhaps wholly passive. Toward physical science a very large proportion of intelligent men now occupy this passive attitude. The crassly ignorant are still ready to contest the conclusions of the whole scientific world. Toward social science the passive state has only been reached by a few. The great majority are still at war with its simplest and most readily verified conclusions. This is not to be wondered at when we consider the character of our past training and how it is at war with our dearest prejudices. While this state of passive neutrality is a better one than that which preceded it, we can not consider it wholly safe or good. The scientific charlatan takes advantage of it and through arrogant pretensions misdirects and confuses the men of a little learning. When legislative bodies representing States and even the whole nation can be gulled, where deception should be impossible, what can we hope for where ignorance is dense? If the men who should be thoroughly scientific in their training, and who are trusted by over sixty millions of people to make their laws, can be led into spending the nation's money in idiotic experiments for the production of rain in arid regions, what hope can we have from the far less favored masses? We have plenty of expert meteorologists in and out of the Government's employ. Any one of these could have told them how futile such attempts would prove. The trouble was that they thought their own judgments superior where they imagined there

existed a difference between authorities. They could not differentiate the ignorant pretender from the honest and well-posted expert. If they will not accept the dicta of physical science where they know enough of it to know that they are ignorant, how can we hope to have them accept the conclusions of social science where they really believe they know more than anybody else? The wise Solons of our own State of New York, not so very long ago, voted a large sum of money to pay a quack for a hydrophobia-curing remedy. Any physician could have told them it was a humbug. They thought they knew more than the doctors. Our farming population and many legislators believe they know more of finance than bankers who have made it a life-study.

We all should know that people whom we happen to love or respect are just as likely to do wrong as those we do not know. The fact that we know them or that we respect them does not make saints of them. Where our opinions of individuals are based upon selected experiences of a test quality and our love or affection has come as a consequence of these we are not likely to be often, if ever, surprised by lapses in their conduct. But where we draw our conclusions solely because we like them and wish them to be good, concluding that therefore they are good, we are the victims of misleading fancy. This condition of mind is usually seen in an exaggerated form among mothers toward their children. The maternal affection will not allow them to think that in a quarrel their children are to blame. It is always assumed that somebody's else was in fault. Physicians and teachers are often embarrassed by this form of bias. In patriotism it likewise appears. Any trouble that arises between our own country and another causes us at once to assume that ours must be in the right. Even if the evidence is conclusive that we were wrong, we still endeavor to make it appear otherwise. In comparing our country with others the same misdirection of judgment through feeling occurs. To us the great men of other countries are pygmies as compared with ours, their literatures insignificant, their soldiers poltroons, their methods and discipline inferior, their prowess small, their education contemptible, and their religion drivel. The same deeds that when done by our own people display heroism or wise expediency, if done by another nation are distorted into cruelty, savagery, or treachery. If we are angered with the ruling powers of

our own country an antipatriotic bias comes forth that is equally pernicious. In politics and in religion this same type of bias obtrudes itself. Our political antagonists are all and always deemed wrong. Their platforms may be the very same as those of our own party in another State, yet we will denounce them in unmeasured terms. Our religious foes are heretics and heathens. As Christians we feel called upon to consider Mohammedans, Buddhists, and Brahmins as horribly depraved creatures. Because an occasional accident has happened during the passage of the triumphal car of Juggernaut, or because an occasional suicide through insanity has been committed under its ponderous wheels, our Sunday-school books have given us harrowing accounts of the utter darkness of the heathens who sacrifice each other to appease a supposed angry idol. The facts when freed from theological bias proved to be quite different. Juggernaut, as believed in by Hindoos, opposes human sacrifice and advocates kindness and charity. All our descriptions of the religious rites of people other than Christian have been distorted in this manner. Protestants misrepresent the tenets of Catholics, and Catholics those of Protestants. Infidels, with an anti-theological bias that discredits their claims to liberality, deal in the same unscientific method with the churches, and the latter with true theological acrimony retaliate. So intense is this hateful and groundless feeling of bias that it leads to trouble in every direction. Wherever we find and analyze it we discover that it is but a highly exaggerated form of indirect self-conceit. Our personal deeds, thoughts, and words, and the deeds, thoughts, and words produced by or emanating from our family, our tribe, our clique, our faction, our party, our country, our class, our friends, our club, our church, our society, or our anything else, must be right, while the same things of the other fellows must be wrong. Whoever agrees with us is our fellow, but if he fails to do so he is not. This form of misdirected egoism leads its possessor into all forms of misdirected judgment and incessantly reacts to his own injury. The rich, by defending the rich, right or wrong, bring upon themselves adverse legislation. The poor, in defending the poor, right or wrong, bring upon themselves increased difficulties of life. The Church, as the defender of the faith, by its excessive defense has lowered its dignity and destroyed its power for good. It is a difficult or perhaps impossible thing to get the rich

to see and appreciate the fact that they only exist as a distinct class because it is best for the whole nation. There is no more divine right for aristocracy than there was a divine right for kings. Kings exist now and always had their existence because they were a necessity of the conditions of their times. The nations having them were the better for them. They survived because they were fit, but as soon as such a form of government ceased to be fit they disappeared. We have people now that are immensely wealthy, and others abjectly poor. These two extremes are here because they are a necessity of man's present development in morality and knowledge. This is the condition of greatest social stability possible with men constituted as the race is. As soon as they improve, their relative conditions will change, and always in about the proportion of their moral and intellectual improvement. All hasty and ill-advised changes, however desirable they may appear to be, can only end in injury if premature. The question of right and wrong in this can not be settled by an appeal to feeling. What we feel to be right is not always right, and what we feel to be wrong is often proved right. A broader outlook must be taken.

One of the greatest boons that a true sociology could bring would be the sweeping away of the intense rancor that is born of ignorance in matters social. How unfortunate it is that men can not control their tempers in debating such topics! This bitterness, no doubt, was a highly laudable condition when the issues were of life and death. Even when we view the matter from the early theological standpoint a benefit can be seen to arise. If nothing else, it betrayed the sterling candor of those having it. Calvin never would have permitted Servetus to be burned at the stake had he not sincerely believed that he was endangering the salvation of thousands of souls. He thought it a less evil to have Servetus die thus than to have myriads deceived by him and cast into eternal torture. Much of the ill will that is now evoked is classified as righteous indignation. True sociology will show the world that dishonesty of purpose is now the exception and not the rule. Only a short-sighted mortal who deserves the name of bigot will in future denounce every one who disagrees with him as dishonest. Every party in politics, every creed in religion, and every class in business is in the main actuated by honesty of purpose. They may be misled or deceived, but a

multitude can not be brought together in which all are either fools or knaves. All the truth is seldom or never on one side. Both have part and are but supplement and complement of each other. As our earth maintains its orbit, and as the harmony of the spheres is kept up by the balancing strain of opposite currents of energy, so social development moves along a similar line of balance between all the heterogeneous opinions of society's units. The theological bias is corrected by an antitheological, and all the biases are checked and counter-checked by one another. Two wrongs thus often make a right and two errors balance us into truth. Sometimes for a season movement is lopsided because an overwhelming majority goes one way, but this is soon self-correcting. The orbit of the earth is not a perfect circle. Sometimes one force predominates and sometimes another. Conservative people check the too radical, and radical people check the too conservative. Give gravity a chance and it would wreck the solar system. Give tangential energy an opportunity, and we should fly into unknown space orbitless. Give theologians a chance, and we should be run into a current of involution and wrecked. Give freethinkers a chance, and we should fly off into utter intellectual chaos. Give the Democratic spirit a chance, and we should split into riotous mobs. Give the Republican spirit a chance, and we should fuse into a national tyranny. Give the minor parties and minor creeds the opportunity they seek, and a thousand eccentric paths would mark our flight and part us worse than the asteroids. Until men have learned that truth has a dual aspect and that the two halves are quite likely to be contradictions from the individual's standpoint, they will not be willing fully to dwell in peace with one another. Social science will teach them this. When its tenets are diffused we will cease to see the silly habit indulged in of refusing to listen to the arguments of an opponent or to give weight to conclusions that happen to be unlike our own. Legislators will no longer strive to pass laws favored by their constituents, right or wrong. Parties will try to agree upon a policy for the common good instead of trying to misdirect and deceive for the purpose of carrying out whims. Our statute books are full of absurdities and inconsistencies that need correcting, but neither party dares to touch them for fear of the other. Take, for instance, a single example from our patent laws. Foreigners can come here and take out patents for their inventions and then refuse to make them in this

country. Fictitious prices are fixed upon their goods which we have to pay as the cost of labor and profit that is spent abroad. This is seen in the patents on antipyrine, sulphonal, and phenacetine. In Germany, where they are made, they can be bought for one fifth the price we are compelled to pay. The German Government refuses to give Dr. Knorr a wholesale monopoly on antipyrine, and as a consequence it sells in Germany at twenty-five or thirty cents an ounce. We Americans are so very kind that we give him a monopoly here and he charges us a dollar and a quarter per ounce. This dollar and a quarter is paid by the sick and suffering of America to make rich a German in Germany and to pay for the work of German workmen. We could make it and sell it at home for twenty-five cents per ounce, but our absurd laws will not let us do so. We are not permitted by American law to employ American workingmen in what should be a legitimate business. We are not allowed to lower the price of a necessary article for relieving the torture of our most agonizing diseases to a figure that will permit the poor to use it. Germans refuse to be as kind to Germans as we are to them. Our display of national altruism is august indeed in its stupidity, but our political leaders prefer to quarrel about who sent the World's Fair to Chicago in preference to endeavoring to right such glaring wrongs. All this, too, is due to fear of consequences. A little true social science introduced here will be of very great benefit. It will show our legislators that they ought to study the principles underlying social aggregation and construct laws in accordance therewith. Laws should be discovered, not manufactured to suit occasions or to please cliques. It will give over-zealous reconstructionists a lesson of patient waiting. Nothing starts in the new. Everything evolves from past things and every condition from past conditions. It will tell those who look for future uniformity that that has never yet been Nature's method and is not likely to be in the future. All evolution is differentiation. Social evolution must be the same. There not only will always be differences in men, but these will become more and more marked. Some will vary one way, some another, and the links uniting them will in time be broken. The world still has its radiates, articulates, molluscs, fishes, birds, quadrupeds, quadrumana, and men. Of the latter it still has its savages, barbarians, semi-civilized, and civilized. In religion, Fetichism, Brahminism, Buddhism, Hebrewism,

and Christianity still survive. The lowest rounds of the ladder are most numerously represented. The fruits of evolution all lie in relation to each other like different levels of an ascending pyramid. At the base and occupying immensely the greater room are the lowest forms. At the apex and contracted are the higher. There are more heathens than Christians, more Catholics than Protestants, and more conservatives than liberals. Have we any reason for believing that this will ever be reversed? If we have, are we quite sure that our schemes will reverse it? Wherever and whenever any form became more numerous than the preceding form, it was always through survival in a struggle. The unfit were killed off. We have no example of the fit bearing the burdens of the unfit and both surviving on an equality. Unfitness tends always to generate parasitism. The parasite is a disease-producer and pulls down its host, lessening its chances in the struggle. Everything that relieves any creature of the results and consequences of its own conduct trains it to become a disease-producing parasite. What reasoning have we for believing that there is any mitigation among men of the rigorousness of this law? If those plants or animals that are tending toward parasitism are forced to depend upon their own resources with no other help than a slight release from a too intense struggle, they survive and improve. Is it not equally so with men? Helplessness that can be helped to helpfulness deserves, and is always likely to receive help, among human beings. Helplessness that can not be so helped cumbers the ground that might be used by its betters. Nature everywhere works toward increasing strength and diminishing weakness. It does so in society as it did so before there was any society. Strength of intellect gives its possessor an advantage over all otherwise equally endowed. Strength in self-abnegation, strength in truthfulness, strength in virtue, strength in every quality that is fitting, is being incessantly selected. We denounce cunning, but so long as it benefits the creature possessing it more than our denunciations hurt it, cunning will survive and multiply. We commend dogged persistence, but so long as being what is called "game" injures us in the struggle for life, so long will the quality of being "game" become less and less. We denounce a love of wealth and deference to the wealthy. But so long as these aid the sycophant, sycophancy will multiply. It is not what we like or dislike, what we denounce or adore, but

what adds to the chances of life, that goes to make up the conditions of futurity. One at a time men see these conditions, and, obeying Nature's trend, save themselves from the errors of their fellows. Everybody first opposes the trend for reasons already pointed out. To this trend of things thoughts must conform. This trend is the equilibration of all forces social, psychical, and physical, but mainly physical. Sanity consists in conforming thoughts to things. Sociological reasoning is the reasoning of sanity. All human beings first fight progress, but are wheeled into line by being convinced that Nature is against them. They see that they must conform to progress or suffer. They convince others by adducing evidence that Nature is going that way and not by appealing to their whims or prejudices. Nature does not adjust herself to man, as so many believe. Man must adjust himself to Nature. The function of propagandism in progression is to try to teach our fellows to rightly adjust themselves rather than to help Nature bring about growth Nature can take care of herself; we must take care of ourselves. If as a nation we violate the laws of proper equilibrium, we suffer or die. If as an individual we do the same, a like fate awaits us. To travel in Nature's channel is health and life. To get out of that channel is disease and death. Our constant natural trend has been to get out of the proper channel, but Nature has hitherto always succeeded in whipping us back into it again. If we stubbornly refuse to go back, our doom is sealed. We must perish. That channel we do not make. It is made for us. The millions of contending fancies and whims neutralize each other and can not be realized. None of them can, if based on human desire instead of objective fact. Whatever we do that is not in Nature's preordained channel only retards and brings more evil than good. It is not generally known that in all human experience the outer margin of adaptation is flanked with maladjustments. The act that benefits one individual, nation, or race, injures another. No law can be passed, no social action taken, however good, that does not bring evil with it somewhere. Improvement is not from bad to good, but only from bad to a little better. What a blessing it would be to the community if legislators, governors, and presidents could have this fact fully impressed upon them! Every session of the Legislature in our State starts forces that bring poverty, hunger, disease, and death to hundreds of our fellow-citizens. In the most

flippant manner and with their yeas and nays they are constantly decreeing death and desolation, even when they imagine they are bringing only blessings to their fellows. There is but one proper justification for the passage of a new law or the repeal of an old one. It should bring more good than evil. How often do legislators take pains to discover all possible evils that might result from a proposed act? Do they ever try to trace the ramifications of consequences and to see how many have been injured directly and indirectly by the change? No two bodies can occupy the same space at the same time, and when one body is forced into the previously occupied space of another, a chain of consequences, both good and ill, must result from the successive series of unforeseen changes that followed. Do not our legislators and reformers usually try to bury out of sight whatever might suggest possible ill consequences? In urging their schemes upon the people, do they ever try to make clear the myriad wrongs, injustice, and damage that must occur somewhere by the adoption of their scheme? In pointing out only the good, they deceive. The very worst and most diabolical social scheme possible, if adopted, would bring some new benefits and new good to us and correct some existing evils. Any change, however bad, must bring new good. The converse is equally true. Any scheme, however good, must bring some new evil. It is evident, therefore, that to only show the good that is expected from a proposed change, tells us really nothing of the value of such a change. The worst possible scheme can thus be justified. Truth can never be reached in this one-sided manner. As the merchant determines his standing by a comparison of the debit and credit sides of his ledger, so the seeker after sociological truth can only gain it by a similar process. All new schemes should be tried by this process, and every man who endeavors to suppress, hide, or mitigate adverse facts should be deemed a public enemy. A knowledge of the evils done is really of as much or more value than is that of the good. Without such knowledge correct conclusions are impossible. It can always be set down as a fact that when a system is urged as being free from danger and devoid of evils, its advocates either do not know what they are talking about or they are trying to deceive. In the very nature of things every possible scheme must have its defects and drawbacks as well as its advantages. No scheme can be wholly good, neither can it be

wholly bad. When only the good in schemes of change is told, the very worst of them can be made to appear as if as brilliant as the very best, and when only the bad is presented, the very best will be horrible indeed. With such one-sided presentations truth can not be discovered. The temperance men and total abstainers are of great value to progress in gathering the favorable facts of their schemes, but their foes are of equal, and we might with safety say of greater, value in that they present the defects and dangers. Without both, action would be unsafe and attempts at progress dangerous. It is exactly the same with all would-be meddlers of present conditions and all excessively conservative people. Free-traders and Protectionists, Women's Righters and Anti-Women's Righters, Greenbackers and gold-bugs, each alike hides part of the truth and always the good of the schemes of their foes and the bad of their own. None of them seems at all anxious to get at the truth. Laws are passed by legislators with the same reckless disregard for what is right and what is wrong. There is no weighing of pros and cons. It is all benefit and no harm, or they will have nothing to do with it. Perplexing problems are ruled out, and, with the simplicity of a young robin, all are expected to open their mouths and swallow. Social science will in time alter all this and raise up students who will take pleasure in discounting their own false conclusions.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISCUSSION.

MR. DANIEL GREENLEAF THOMPSON:

In listening to this paper, one is impressed with the great changes which have taken place within one's own recollection in the treatment of such subjects. Twenty-five years ago it would have been impossible to have such a subject discussed along the lines that Dr. Eccles has chosen. There has been everywhere an entirely different method of treating subjects relating to the state or to society. From the time of Aristotle the idea has prevailed that society is to be studied as a creation, different in kind from the phenomena of the natural world, and to be treated by different methods. Dr. Eccles has stated the difficulty in arriving at correct results, due to *a priori* reasoning. The trouble has been, in one word, the tyranny of institutions. The most prominent of these are the Family, the State, and the Church. Each of these, before the scientific method of study was adopted, was simply a fetich. All were supposed to be of supernatural origin. It has been the tendency to make each an end to itself, not a means to an end, which has brought such chaos. The family is of value only as it serves the people who compose it. It may become, as in ancient Rome, a means of tyranny to individuals. With the state the difficulty is more obvious and widespread. It was the old idea that everybody exists for the state. So with the Church: it can not be criticised. It is something divine; everything else must be subservient to it. The study of institutions as ends, not means, has been a hindrance. When people are no longer deluded by the idea that knowledge is given on authority, the idea of the relation of man to the state begins to change, which makes possible the science of sociology. Evolution teaches that nothing is permanent, and that changes are both constructive and destructive. We see, therefore, that much work is to be done; it is still necessary to be on our guard against the tyranny of institutions. We must preserve the spontaneity of the individual, and let him take the initiative in the formation of a state in which all may have the most perfect freedom.

MR. Z. SIDNEY SAMPSON:

My attention has recently been called to a peculiar form of sociological bias—it is the so-called "liberal" bias; that is, the bias that inspires some to decry and belabor the opinions which they formerly held and have now outgrown, and which others still hold. I have met many people who would utterly erase every vestige of what has pre-

ceded them in religion, politics, or sociology. Mr. Spencer ably treats this subject in his chapter on The Theological Bias, in the Study of Sociology. He shows how this extreme iconoclastic spirit renders true judgments in sociological questions impossible. (Mr. Sampson then read several extracts from the chapter referred to.)

PROF. GEORGE GUNTON:

In the paper of Dr. Eccles a few points were forced to the front and unduly emphasized, leaving an unsatisfactory result. For instance, the speaker emphasized particularly the point that all progress is made, not by virtue of man's efforts and desires, but in spite of them. Then he blamed the legislators for what goes on, though, by his theory, it goes on in spite of them. It is not true that there is no priority between the owl and the egg. There *is* an initiative. There is a movement onward or there could be no evolution. The problem is not insoluble. To say that society goes on in spite of mankind is to take the subject out of science altogether. What is the difference between ignorance and knowledge if all goes on in spite of us? If it is true that things go on in spite of man, why haven't all nations gone on alike? Asiatics as fast as Europeans? The truth is just the reverse. The evolution of society goes on because we want it to. All progress depends upon human desires. Let the desire for change stop, and progress stops. Who oppose what comes? Only those whose desires lag behind—those who wish for no change. First, a few have desires for something new and begin to work for it. By presenting its advantages they affect others, and so on. The addition of social force goes on until about thirty per cent of the people are convinced, and then the machinery of society begins to move. New movements in society are initiated because the governing portion of the community have worked for it. As to the "Mugwumps" or independents, Dr. Eccles left no excuse for their existence, while really they are a gilt-edged, pretty lot, and ought to be useful. The Doctor says the way to improve politics is to work inside the existing party machinery. But the function of the "Mugwump" is to agitate things outside and prevent the machine from crystallizing all over. The Mugwump as a director of affairs would make a lamentable failure; but he does good work as an agitator outside the parties.

DR. LEWIS G. JANES:

Prof. Gunton's defense of the political independent almost leads me to exclaim, "Save me from my friends!" I am not quite sure that I am a "Mugwump": I do not know exactly what is implied by the word, but I am very sure that I am an independent. And it seems to

me that he who fails to recognize in history the power of the independent in molding the course of affairs is blind in one eye at least. Did Garrison and Phillips have no influence in abolishing slavery? Have Gough and Father Matthew done nothing to make drunkenness odious? Could Luther and Calvin and Melanchthon have remained in the Catholic Church and fought out there the battle for the right of private judgment? Has the influence of Jesus of Nazareth been less than it would have been had he remained within the pale of orthodox Judaism? Would Herbert Spencer have done a greater work had he wrought as a theologian in the Church or as a politician in parliament? Evolution teaches that institutions are made for man, not man for institutions; and the strong man, the kingly soul, the leader of society, is he who will not barter his manhood at the behest of the machine—be it sectarian or political. Nor does man inherit only the static qualities of past social conditions, as Dr. Eccles would have us infer. The tendency to push forward, to seek for better things, is a most important part of his inheritance. As Mr. Powell phrases it, "The eyes of Evolution are in its forehead." I agree with Prof. Gunton that all progress comes through the desires and efforts of individual workers. Mr. Spencer shows that the highest morality consists in doing right freely, not under compulsion, in accordance with our desires. In Luther's phrase, "God needs strong men" to effect his purposes for social regeneration.

Dr. Eccles, in reply: The criticism of the last two speakers is due to a misapprehension. I agree that it is much higher to like virtue than to accept virtue as a necessity; but my contention is that in social science such a course of reasoning is superstitious and will lead us astray. So, also, the Mugwump who takes himself out of the old party loses his grip. He reduces his opportunities for good. If the independent stayed inside his party he would finally become a majority and exert more influence for what he regards as right. Prof. Gunton is laboring under a delusion in believing that social changes are primarily obedient to our desires. I repeat that all progress is at the start in spite of man's hopes, ideals, and desires. Man is a product of the past; he has nothing in common with the future except what the past gives the future. All changes result from a balancing of forces. Nature's laws are immutable; man can only conform to their behests. Every social change hurts somebody, even when it is for the better. Every true sociologist knows this. We should therefore try to see both sides of the ledger—the debit as well as the credit side—and not deceive ourselves by suppressing the evil, and believing the course we advocate will be productive only of good.

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT

BY

EDWIN D. MEAD

EDITOR OF THE NEW ENGLAND MAGAZINE

COLLATERAL READINGS SUGGESTED:

Bryce's The American Commonwealth; Spencer's Justice, and Man *vs.* the State; Lieber's Civil Liberty and Self-Government; Guizot's History of the Origin of Representative Government in Europe; Maine's Popular Government; Mill's Considerations on Representative Government; Sterne's Constitutional History and Political Development of the United States; Cocker's The Government of the United States; Fiske's Civil Government in the United States, and American Political Ideas; Macy's Our Government; Mowry's Studies in Civil Government; Woolsey's Political Science; Wilson's The State; Freeman's Comparative Politics; Pollock's Introduction to the Science of Politics; Burgess's Political Science and Comparative Constitutional Law; Sir John Lubbock's Representation; Hare's The Election of Representatives, Parliamentary and Municipal.

REPRESENTATIVE GOVERNMENT.

By Edwin D. Mead.

I CONGRATULATE this society, in undertaking such a course of lectures as the present, upon its return to more orthodox practices than have lately been common among us. In our extreme jealousy of any kind of union of Church and State we have often fallen into a very miserable and mischievous avoidance of any association of religion with politics. This was not true with the men who lived the Bible which we read; and it was not true of our own great Puritan fathers. It is hard to distinguish what is politics and what is religion when we have to do with Moses and David. Almost the whole of Jewish prophecy is politics. We have made their politics our religion. It is high time that we do that, to some extent, with our own. It was natural for our Puritan fathers to vote on Monday in the same meeting-house where they prayed on Sunday, because their voting and their praying, the affairs of the community and the affairs of the congregation, had much closer affinity than is the case to-day, I fear, in Brooklyn and Boston. It is on Sunday that the sturdy, independent freemen of those little Swiss cantons—the men of Uri and the men of Appenzell—come together to elect their magistrates and transact their public business; and before they rally at the voting place they crowd the church for morning prayer. I do not think that they vote the worse because of that morning prayer in the church, and I do not think they pray the worse because they are to pass from praying to voting. "Where the spirit of the Lord is, there is liberty," is the old Bible text which Freeman recalls when, in one of his books, he remembers this Swiss custom; and I think it is time for us to remember in America that, if we are to expect to see true liberty live and grow here, then we must see to it that our politics is pervaded and controlled by the highest ideals and the highest spirit which we have. If there is that in our politics which makes us feel that it is a sacrilege and a shame to come into our churches with it, then it is time for us to ask searching questions and to urge some thoroughgoing reforms; and it is always

time to remember that religion is here in the world for nothing at all if it is not here to be brought directly to bear upon the life of the people to-day. I am glad to see church doors flung open that men may come into the most sacred places to consider their duties to the state.

Emerson has said that every man is eloquent at least once in his life. This is a course of lectures not meant much, I think, for eloquence, but for instruction, and you do not expect me to be eloquent upon the subject of representative government. Yet, when one thinks of the great name with which the idea of representative government is more closely associated in history than with any other name, one is strongly tempted to let the one eloquent time in his life come then and there. For there are few figures in English history, at least, more stirring or heroic than that of Simon de Montfort, who is properly called the founder of the House of Commons, and who gave to the English Parliament, and so to representative government in England, its full, strong outlines. It was De Montfort who, first turning to the barons for help in the reforms which were imperative in England, turned then to the middle class, to the land-holders of the country, and especially to the freemen of the rising towns; and by his consolidation of the representatives of these, Parliament was fully born. It has certainly grown since—representation has been gradually extended—but it was now fully born.

England had certainly not been without a parliament of some kind before De Montfort. The old *Witenagemote* was a parliament—that assembly of wise men which we find in some shape wherever we find Teutons at all. The constitution of the *Witenagemote* was rather informal; it is sometimes a little difficult to determine just how much power, or property, or prominence made one a proper member, and just what excluded another; but its powers at times were surely very great, extending to the repression of every abuse, and even to the deposing of kings. These wise men were not proxies; their assembly can not be called a part of representative government; but it was a great safeguard of justice, of public right, and even of equality. Originally all free men might enter the *Witenagemote*, although later membership was restricted to landed proprietors. It was in earliest times a most democratic institution, and great crises always tended to make it democratic again. Rights fell into disuse and had to be reasserted. The great reformations of the world,

the great revolutions of the world, have over and again been the reassertions of privileges which, through political indolence or negligence, have been allowed to lapse. This was largely true in the case of *Magna Charta* itself, and wholly true of other charters. It was true of the "Great Privilege" of Holland. The election of William and Mary in 1688 (for election it was) was simply a return to ancient English procedure, a new assertion of the old doctrine that kings ruled by the will of the people.

Much as William the Conqueror and his Norman barons did to curtail the old Saxon freedoms, there was still a great family likeness between the councils summoned by the kings after the conquest and the old *Witenagemote;* and in those early charters, which kept getting born out of the midst of the sundry oppressions, we feel much of the old Saxon spirit. The last article of *Magna Charta* was an article providing for enforcing the provisions of the charter, and twenty-five barons were to be elected from the body of the barons to attend to this matter. Here we have a notable step, at least, toward representative government. The confirmations of the charter which successively followed its successive violations showed how unsafe tyranny was becoming; and Edward I's direct manifesto to the people in an important exigency showed how powerful a factor in the government public opinion had already become.

It was not the barons alone who had place in Parliament, even at the time of *Magna Charta;* knights were elected to Parliament in the county courts. Here, indeed, in these institutions connected with the county courts, we may almost say that we find the beginnings of representation proper in England. The knights played many parts. Long allies of the barons, they then became, in exigencies, the allies of the Crown, and then the allies of the burgesses. These representatives of the counties did not deliberate at first with the representatives of the boroughs, but belonged rather to the "Upper House"; as Parliament developed its power, however, they gravitated to their proper place with the burgesses, and the union of these two elements made the modern House of Commons.

The barons, in those old times of the Edwards and the Henrys, played various parts, now standing in the way of the advancement of the people's rights, and now being real leaders for liberty, encouraging by their resistance the people's resistance, and giving the people their political educa-

tion. Perhaps the Parliament of De Montfort represented in a roughly fair way what was then the political nation, giving voice and rights to almost all that had real capacity. But presently such movements as that of Wat Tyler gave evidence of a class not represented, which yet had power and had the sense of rights; and such classes have gone on clamoring for power in England, and getting power, until at last the House of Commons has become in a very high degree a body really representing the people of England.

I have said that the *Witenagemote* was, in a certain sense, continued in the House of Lords. After the Conquest, the great barons could here appear by individual proxies; the town and county representatives were proxies of the people. This became the ground of division into two houses. The original separation was between the counties and the boroughs. No idea of public right had anything to do with the formation of the House of Lords: it was the personal importance of certain individuals that created that house and gave individuals their place there. The English Parliament does not have its present constitution in obedience to any general theory, but simply as a result of certain historic facts. In different times and places there have been three or four, or even more "chambers" in legislative assemblies. The town's delegates, the representatives of the "third estate," deliberated separately in the Assembly which Philip the Fair, of France, summoned in 1302. There were six bureaus in the French deliberations of 1484. The old French parliaments were not, in any strict or true sense, representative bodies. It was Turgot who first looked on representation with something of an Englishman's eye. Turgot, if anybody, must be called the French De Montfort.

In England we see a rapid decadence of the power of Parliament under the Tudors and the Stuarts. There were other reasons for it besides the personal strength of the Tudor monarchs, but we will not enter into these. It was by the Puritans, in the Commonwealth, that Parliament was made supreme in England: Crown was abolished, House of Lords was abolished; the House of Commons alone, a single chamber, representing the whole people of the state, became the sole legislative power.

The English Commonwealth was a great prophecy, an epoch three centuries before its time in England, and English history from that time to this has been a struggle to

realize in a broader and a better way what its great dreamers dreamed, and what, with those limitations of their age from which it was impossible that they should free themselves, they resolutely tried to do.

Out of that England and that epoch were born New England and America. The founders of New England—Winthrop and Bradford and Endicott and Hooker and Roger Williams—were men trying to do here what Hampden and Pym and Cromwell and Milton and Vane were trying to do there. "It seems to me sometimes," says Maurice in his noble lectures on Representation, "as if New England were a translation into prose of the thought that was working in Milton's mind from its early morning to its sunset."

It was not the time of the Commonwealth—the political dream of the Puritan—however, which chiefly influenced the thought of Hamilton and the men most influential at the time of the adoption of our own American Constitution; but the time ushered in by William and Mary—the dream which satisfied the Whig. This is something not unimportant to remember. The fact that this is a federal republic, that we are a union of states as well as one great people, constitutes, indeed, a natural reason for a Congress such as ours, with its Senate and its House of Representatives. Yet it may be questioned whether that Congress would have been viewed as it was by Hamilton and Madison and Jay had their minds not been so powerfully influenced by the constitution of the British Parliament with its Lords and Commons.

The history of the English Parliament itself, from the time of William and Mary to the time of Gladstone, has been the history of the extension of representation, the Reform Bill of 1831 working the most conspicuous correction of abuses, and the extension of suffrage in the last decade creating at last a Parliament which, as I have already said, may fairly be considered representative of the English people. There have been no better discussions of the principles of suffrage than those which have accompanied the later efforts for its extension in England, the discussions especially between Mr. Lowe and Mr. Gladstone—Mr. Lowe, as representative of the idea that the suffrage must be carefully guarded, kept strictly in the hands of the most responsible and most intelligent; and Mr. Gladstone, as representative of the idea that that nation is strongest which enlists the greatest possible number of its own elements responsibly

in its own interests, and that wealth and culture alone do not constitute the sole qualifications for the best political judgment, often carrying with them a selfishness that is more than an offset for the intelligence which may go with them. By virtue of the fact that the ministry, the real executive of the English government, belongs always to the party having a majority in the House of Commons, changing from party to party as that majority changes, the English government is more strictly a representative government at every time than is our own, the ministry always representing the forces actually ascendant in Parliament to-day.

I have dwelt at this length upon the subject of representative government in England because England is really the great exponent of the idea of representative government in the world. It is England that through the centuries has worked out the idea of representative government, and given it control; and through the example of England that that idea and control have passed to America, and in varying degrees to the states of Europe.

Dwelling upon the history of representative government as shown in the development of Parliament, I have hardly spoken of the idea as finding expression earlier often in local and smaller institutions—in the *shiremote* and the *hundredmote*. But it is in these local institutions that we really find the germ of the idea. The history of the beginnings of the jury system is really a chapter in the history of representative government. The jury was an institution which at the beginning had almost greater interest and value from the political standpoint than from the strictly legal standpoint. Securing to men, as it did, trial by their peers, and standing as a bulwark against the oppressions of superior classes, it played a great part in the development of liberty and of equality. It may be questioned whether its value and necessity have not decreased in just the proportion that its political aspect has become unimportant, and whether much of the high regard in which the jury is commonly held among us is not now a superstition.

As in the early local institutions of England and of Europe we find the germs of representative government, so do we find them notably in the Church. The service of the Church, not only for the principle of representation, but for democracy altogether, is something to be carefully considered. The spectacle of a great organization like the

Church, in the tenth and twelfth and later centuries, with men rising from the humblest walks of life to ecclesiastical positions where they wielded power equal to that of barons and of kings, was a spectacle which could not have been without deep and universal influence; and the parallelism of theological and political thought in the case of every such reformer as Wiclif and Calvin and Robert Brown should never be lost from sight by the student of the development of liberty in Europe.

If I have confined myself chiefly to England in this historical survey, I surely would not give the impression that the struggles for liberty and the struggles toward the representative idea, which were going on elsewhere in Europe quite independent of English influence, were unimportant. The history of Holland, from the earliest times, has great significance here. The influence of Holland on England, through her close relations with England in the conflict with Spain, through the men who crossed from England to help her fight her battles, and through her own people who to escape Spanish oppression flocked across to Norfolk and Suffolk and Essex, was much greater than most of us are in the habit of thinking. Her influence upon our own colonial thought, upon New York especially, but also upon Connecticut and other sections, was important. She influenced not only our colonial, but also our constitutional period. The principle that all men are created equal, the principles of the separation of Church and State, of local self-government as we understand it, of public schools, of a Senate, of a Supreme Court, of the written ballot, and of the federal system, are Dutch principles rather than English principles. It was not for nothing that our fathers lived in Holland.*

We have in Switzerland the most striking example of a free democratic government, steadily developed almost without interruption, on the continent of Europe. The place of Switzerland in the history of liberty and of representative government is a remarkable one. Indeed, wherever we find a Teutonic people, wherever we find an Aryan people, we find institutions which give hints of what we call representative government. I think it was Guizot who remarked that the idea of representative government has hovered over Europe ever since the founding of modern

* I would call attention to the very thorough and able pamphlet on the Influence of Holland upon England and America, by Rev. William Elliot Griffis.

states. The idea in embryo hovered over Europe earlier far than that. We never come to sharp beginnings in history. Back of every institution we find something which was a prophecy and a preparation. In the Spartan Ephors we find something that even suggests the English ministry, those officials really representing the people as against the kings. In the Amphictyonic Council already we find a forecast of federalism; and we may properly ask ourselves whether that which finally robbed the Amphictyonic Council of its binding force—the equal voice accorded in its votes to the large and the small tribes—is not that which may work the enfeeblement and final overthrow of our own Senate. In Rome we have a germ of representative government in the institution of the Tribunes—the Tribunes being elected by the plebeians and really their representatives in the state.

Turning from history to the present, may we not say that wherever we see representative government to-day there we see government by parties? The rise and power of political parties becomes a cardinal factor in the history of representative government; and perhaps the great question to-day in connection with representative government is that which is raised by this aspect of it—the question of the rights of minorities. "If ever the free institutions of America are destroyed," wrote De Tocqueville, "that event may be attributed to the unlimited authority of the majority, which may at some time urge the minorities to desperation and oblige them to have recourse to physical force. Anarchy will then be the result; but it will have been brought about by despotism." To the same effect writes Hamilton in the *Federalist*, and Jefferson in his letters to Madison. And no one can face the problems raised on election day, in a great city like New York, with the subsidized ignorance pouring out of Bowery lodging-houses in streams large enough to submerge the body of intelligent voters, without seeing that we here touch the danger-spot in America. The tendency to truckle to this ignorance, and of letting commonplace men monopolize important offices in the city and the state, may easily go so far as to disgust the better element with the results, to an extent that might work such revolutions in our polity as we do not like to talk about. The gerrymandering processes so common in all our states, whereby a dominant majority fortifies itself and perpetuates injustice, is another most serious menace to the

stability of our republican institutions, practically robbing, as it so often does, great sections of the people of their political rights. "Pure democracy," says Thomas Hare, "is the government of the whole people by the whole people; whilst false democracy is the government of the whole people by a mere majority of the people acting through representatives elected by that majority, the minority having no representation at all and being, in fact, practically disfranchised."

The mention of the name of Thomas Hare suggests the most serious and important essay which has yet been made by any political thinker toward a system which shall secure the rights of minorities, which are so jeopardized in our modern democracies.* Mr. Hare's plan is so original, so revolutionary, and so thorough as to quite justify Mill's high praise of it in his work on Representative Government, still the most valuable single work on representative government which can be given our students, as "among the very greatest improvements yet made in the theory and practice of government."

The great features of Mr. Hare's book are its exposure of the unsuitableness of the principle of geographical division in politics, and its elaboration of a system whereby men may easily combine for the causes which they have most at heart, without a waste of votes. Representation, as Mr. Hare justly urges, is designed to collect the diversities of opinion in the state, not to record the preponderance of one out of two or three opinions. What really most interests each of us, citizens of Brooklyn or of Boston? Is it to have one out of two doctrines which happen to be prominent in Brooklyn or in Boston represented in the New York or Massachusetts legislature? Or is it to have represented there some cause dearer to us than either of the two, which we may hold in common with men in Rochester and Buffalo, or in Springfield and Worcester? The effort in modern democracy should be to make it easy for men throughout a state to combine in behalf of the cause which they count most important, and to make every vote effectual for that cause. There is no lack of disposition to such combination. Everywhere we see the disposition to voluntary association in fraternities and guilds of every sort. It is only necessary

* The Election of Representatives, Parliamentary and Municipal. By Thomas Hare. London, 1859. Fourth edition, with appendix, 1873. The seventh chapter of Mill's Representative Government is an exposition of Mr. Hare's work.

in our politics to resort to those simple aids which education and science now afford us. Our methods of political combination are far behind the time, suited to an age and to conditions we have long since transcended. Montesquieu believed that only small republics would ever be possible, and Rousseau believed the same, because they saw no way in which people over large areas could be united with that closeness necessary for vital public spirit and efficient public action. But great and small are purely relative terms; and the railroad, the newspaper, and the telegraph have brought it to pass that the United States of America in 1891 is not politically so large as New England in 1789. Yet in our voting we make no use of all those helps to intelligent and varied combinations which our modern conveniences furnish.

What Mr. Hare's system would secure the voter is the privilege of indicating his first, his second, and his third choice. If a hundred thousand voters are to have ten representatives, then voters from everywhere should be permitted to combine for the ten thousand necessary for each representative; and when, in the counting of votes, the number of ten thousand is reached in the first choice of the voters, then any excess should go to the second choice, and thus no votes be wasted. Under our representative system it often happens that fifteen thousand or more votes go to the successful candidate, in such a case as that supposed—five thousand of the votes being thus thrown away.

A slight examination of the system proposed by Mr. Hare will show the student that its operation would be exceedingly simple. Such objections as have been urged against it on practical grounds have been overwhelmingly answered by Sir John Lubbock and other defenders of the system.*

There was formed in England several years ago a Proportional Representation Society, with Sir John Lubbock as its president, the object of which was to establish Mr. Hare's system of voting in England; and the members of this large society are not chiefly mere political theorists, but members of Parliament and practical politicians.

* The reader is referred to an article in the Nineteenth Century for April, 1884, by Mr. H. O. Arnold Foster, showing how a test election arranged by him in one of the public schools of Westminster proved that Mr. Hare's system was instantly understood and easily put into practice by the ordinary pupils of an English school. Mr. Hare's statement of his theory has been simplified in a pamphlet by the late Prof. Fawcett. The best brief work, however, upon the subject of Proportional Representation is the little book by Sir John Lubbock, the contents of which are substantially the same as those of his article upon the subject in the Nineteenth Century for April, 1884.

Nowhere are the evils of our present representative system so sharply exposed as by Sir John Lubbock in his arguments for proportional representation. He shows how a majority of twelve thousand in a Birmingham constituency might—and this may still be true—effect no more than one thousand in another place. From 1868 to 1880 Lancashire had not a single Liberal representative in Parliament, although forty-six per cent of the voters were Liberals. These are instances taken almost at random from multitudes equally striking cited by Sir John Lubbock.

"America," says Lubbock, "might have been spared a terrible civil war if the principle of proportional representation had been recognized in the composition of the House of Representatives. This was forcibly pointed out in the report unanimously adopted by the committee of the United States Senate appointed in 1869 to consider the question of representative reform. 'The absence of any provision for the representation of minorities in the states of the South, when rebellion was plotted, and when open steps were taken to break the Union,' says that report, 'was unfortunate, for it would have held the Union men of those states together, and have given them voice in the electoral colleges and in Congress. But they were fearfully overborne by the plurality rule of elections, and were swept forward by the course of events into impotency or open hostility to our cause. By that rule they were shut out of their electoral colleges. Dispersed, unorganized, unrepresented, without due voice and power, they could interpose no effectual resistance to secession and to civil war.'"

Mr. Garfield, speaking in Congress in 1870, said: "When I was first elected to Congress in the fall of 1862 the state of Ohio had a clean Republican majority of about twenty-five thousand, but by the adjustment and distribution of political power in the state there were fourteen Democratic representatives upon this floor and only five Republicans. The state that cast a majority of nearly twenty-five thousand Republican votes was represented in the proportion of five Republicans and fourteen Democrats! In the next Congress there was no great political change in the popular vote of Ohio—a change of only twenty thousand—but the result was that seventeen Republican members were sent here from Ohio, and only two Democrats. We find that only so small a change as twenty thousand changed their representatives in Congress from fourteen Democrats and

five Republicans to seventeen Republicans and two Democrats! Now no man, whatever his politics, can justly defend a system that may in theory, and frequently does in practice, produce such results as these."

The appeal as to the feasibility and the success of a system like that commended by Mr. Hare is not simply to theory; the appeal is also to fact. A system substantially the same has been in successful operation in Denmark for more than thirty years.* We need not, as Americans, be surprised to find ourselves in a matter of such signal importance so far behind a country like Denmark. The truth is —and the quicker we find it out the better for us—we are behind most civilized countries in a hundred things in political administration. We have just now, it is to be feared, much more to learn from other countries than we have to teach them. We are vastly behind England and Germany and France in the fundamentally important matter of municipal organization. We are behind even a new country like Australia in a score of things. It is from Australia that we have recently borrowed our new ballot method. We might wisely borrow from Australia much besides. Australia has what we have not—an eight-hour law; the Australian state owns its own railroads, and generally makes the ends of government the good of the people to an extent which we do not approach. We may take satisfaction, as Americans, in remembering that the ideas of Mr. Hare in England were really anticipated to a great extent in a little book by Mr. J. Francis Fisher, of Philadelphia. It would be far more creditable to America, however, if she would anticipate England in putting into operation this system of representation, which, when once put into operation, will, like the Australian ballot system, make us blush and wonder at our old clumsiness.

Nothing could be better calculated than the Hare system to break up the sharp party divisions which are the curse of our present political life, with their exaggerated and fictitious antagonisms. Of special service would it prove in the municipal field, which is, to my thinking, the most critical field with us in America at present. Nowhere is representative government such a sham as in our cities. With the facilities afforded by a system of proportional representation, it

* The father of the Denmark system is Mr. Andræ, who was at the time of its inauguration (1855) the Minister of Finance. A full account of its operation may be found in the appendix to Sir John Lubbock's book. Reference to it may also be found in the preface to the third edition of Mr. Hare's own work.

would be possible for all the good elements in a city to combine in ways that should make every vote count; and ten good men in a council are always a match for twenty bad ones—such is the law of intelligent force.

One can not fail to notice how admirably this Hare system is adapted, also, to those ends proposed by the socialistic thinkers of our time. As we look backward to the great towns of the later middle ages, we are struck by the great part which the trade guilds played in their organization and government; the trade guilds almost take the place, with respect to representation in the government, which our parties take to-day. They were much nearer right than we. A Republican or a Democrat, as such, has no proper place in the Common Council of Brooklyn or of Boston, because the governments of Brooklyn and of Boston have nothing whatever to do with any party question, and the perpetuation or tolerance of a system which assumes that they do accuses us of incapacity and childishness. We want to see represented in our Common Councils real and not fictitious interests; and we want to make it easy for all good men to combine for the representation there of the interests which for the time they deem the most important, be they the interests of labor, the interests of education, or the interests of some particular public work.

Think as we may of socialism, it can not well be denied that most of the wise legislation of our day is of a socialistic character; and whatever else a system of representation may be, it must be of a kind not unsuited to this tendency. We shall get over fearing socialism when we get over fearing names and think of things. Paternalism is a name that scares many estimable folk. Socialism under a despotism may be paternalism, and may even be the means of consolidating tyranny. Socialism in a true republic is simply the efficient exercise of fraternalism—a people's way of doing its own business economically and kindly, instead of selfishly and wastefully. The State is not something outside of us, although, still victims of tradition and schooled in literature born of other political conditions, we sometimes permit ourselves to think of it so. The State is simply ourselves in our corporate capacity. "Socialism," said Lowell, "is the practical application of Christianity to life"; and Emerson, in other ways, has said the same. "For my own part," said Mill, "not believing in universal selfishness, I have no difficulty in admitting that communism would even now be

practicable among the *élite* of mankind, and may become so among the rest." Whatever names we like to use, it is very sure that everywhere a higher view of the State is dawning, and that men everywhere are sick of the presupposition in politics of universal selfishness. We must begin from now on to ask ourselves in our politics where the presupposition of brotherhood will lead, and what system and method will best fit that.

The rights of minorities, then—the proportional representation of every class and every cause—is one great question connected with representative government to-day. Another is the question of proper qualification for suffrage. How shall this be settled so as to best serve at once the interest of order and the interest of progress—the two interests which every intelligent state has always to consider together?

"The suffrage," says Mr. Hare, "should be regarded as a right of value, and one not thrown heedlessly to every man. It should be felt that it is a right that the State reserves for its worthiest citizens, and in conferring which it adopts all the tests of quality and of worth that are consistent with placing the suffrage on a broad and comprehensive basis." This statement will pass well enough as that of the position also of Mr. Mill; and it is a good enough statement of what I conceive to be the true doctrine of suffrage, if we define clearly what we mean by a "broad and comprehensive basis." The doctrine is, that a man should not be allowed to have a voice in public matters by mere virtue of being a man, but only by virtue of capacity and character. No barriers to suffrage should be erected or permitted which every earnest man or woman may not easily transcend; but no principle of true democracy commands, and no principle of common-sense excuses, the indiscriminate gift of political power to ignorance and vice. We value in this world what we earn. We value that which public opinion and public usage stamp as valuable and serious and sacred; and we have dealt with the suffrage in America in a careless way not calculated to make those who come to its exercise feel that it is a sacred or a serious thing. But we have begun, as Lowell wrote in the most patriotic and American of his essays, "obscurely to recognize that things do not go of themselves, and that popular government is not in itself a panacea, is no better than any other form except as the virtue and wisdom of the people make it so, and that when

men undertake to do their own kingship, they enter upon the dangers and responsibilities as well as the privileges of the function. At present, we trust a man with making constitutions on less proof of competence than we should demand before we gave him our shoe to patch. We have nearly reached the limit of the reaction from the old notion, which paid too much regard to birth and station as qualifications for office, and have touched the extreme point in the opposite direction, putting the highest human functions up at auction to be bid for by any creature capable of going on two legs. We have got to learn that statesmanship is the most complicated of all arts, and to go back to the apprenticeship system, too hastily abandoned." It is, I believe, unsafe and wrong—a wrong to the State and a wrong as well to every individual concerned—to confer the suffrage upon any in this republic who, with the facilities which every state provides or should provide, can not read the newspapers; and it is unsafe and wrong to confer it upon any coming from foreign lands to be fellow-citizens with us until they shall have lived here long enough to understand our institutions and to have become at home in the political situation. It is not by suffrage alone that good opinion makes itself influential, and any condition that might be severe for a few individuals should and would be willingly accepted by them for the sake of the common good. A property qualification for suffrage, such as has until recently existed in Rhode Island, is not in harmony with the spirit of our time, no more than Mill's doctrine of giving extra votes to superior persons—persons of high culture and position; but the grounds on which many arguments against the poll tax are urged are not, to my thinking, valid or profound, not based upon the truest or the most democratic theory of the State. Is not such a tax, small as it is, a salutary recognition and reminder of the costly benefits which the state confers upon even the least fortunate citizen, and is not the obligation to its payment a continual education in independence, a continual symbol and sacrament of independence, for which the exemption from it is a poor offset?

Nothing here said is inconsistent with the maintenance of the suffrage on a "broad and comprehensive basis." In such a basis I earnestly believe. I do not believe in any aristocracy in a republic, be it an aristocracy of scholars or any other. A broad basis of suffrage is the best and is the safest, because it is the best basis of political education, and

that is the best government which does best educate its people. But as every good system of education has its standards, and is strict and sensible in their application, leaving nothing at loose ends, so should it be in the great school of the nation, in the education which comes through political responsibility. The importance of political responsibility to political education must never be forgotten. He who keeps in close touch with the people during the great political campaigns, witnessing the intentness with which, at the party rallies and mass meetings, the most searching and thorough discussions of issues upon which judgment must presently be passed at the polls are followed by the thousands of all sorts and conditions, to whom such discussions under other conditions would be dull and impossible, is not likely to forget this. The educational value of the suffrage has been most wisely emphasized, indeed, by those political thinkers who have realized most keenly the importance of keeping the suffrage intelligent and pure by proper safeguards. "It has long, perhaps throughout the entire duration of British freedom," says Mill, "been a common form of speech, that if a good despot could be insured, despotic monarchy would be the best form of government. I look upon this as a radical and most pernicious misconception of what good government is. Setting aside the fact that for one despot who now and then reforms an abuse there are ninety-nine who do nothing but create them, those who look in any such direction for the realization of their hopes leave out of the idea of good government its principal element, the improvement of the people themselves. One of the benefits of freedom is that under it a ruler can not pass by the people's minds and amend their affairs without amending them."

Besides the question of proper qualification for suffrage and the question of the rights of minorities, there is a third question of the highest importance everywhere to-day in connection with representative government, and especially important here in America: the question of the proper adjustment of executive and legislative power. "All real government is personal," says Frederick Harrison, in his book on *Order and Progress*, making the thesis the subject of a chapter. I believe it to be true at least that there can be no efficient government where the executive is not intrusted with large powers, and that no democracy is yet well educated which is not disposed to intrust its executive

with large powers and keep from meddling with smaller matters. Said Tacitus, speaking of the political customs of our Teutonic forefathers, "On smaller matters the chiefs debate; on greater matters, all men"; and the description is a good definition of a true democracy, if by chiefs we understand the executive committee that is charged with the transaction of public business. That is not a true or well-educated democracy which is meddlesome and restless, and which does not respect and insist upon knowledge and experience and discipline and skill in its important offices; whose citizens are not able to bring to bear upon their politics principles as sound and sensible as those which they apply to their business and the common affairs of life. In every province and phase of our political life we see this lack of the common sense which our people use in other provinces. Each new election and each political campaign forces upon our attention the rapid growth among us of one of the greatest of such political evils—that of quick and sudden rotation in office, involving as it does the keeping of our public affairs more and more in the hands of inexperienced men. The City Council, the State Legislature, the national House of Representatives, is made up in ever and ever greater proportion of men new to the duties, men serving but a single short term, men not re-elected. These offices are coming more and more to be looked upon not as places for service—simple, hard, and faithful service for the people—but as goals of personal ambition, as dignities and honors to decorate the official, as stepping-stones to higher things. From the little circle in the ward, on and up, the imperious feeling is that each in the ambitious set must have his turn; and this feeling demands that the present servant shall make way just as he has acquired that degree of experience which is calculated to make his service valuable. The result of all this is that our government in all its branches, from municipal to national, is rapidly becoming a *government of amateurs*. The permission in the other affairs of life of the methods which we permit in our political business would be regarded as trifling and well-nigh insane. In our politics itself, it is bringing it to pass that the strong men of the city no longer sit, in any large number, in the council—in this respect how lamentably behind Birmingham and Manchester and London are Boston, New York, and Chicago!—and that our legislatures are deteriorating. The strong man does not come up there again

and again from the country town. He ought to come. When we get a good man into office, we ought to keep him there, instead of dismissing him just as he has learned the ropes and knows how to serve us well. It is ridiculous to make a new man mayor of the city each new year. No man can learn the city's business and fit himself to direct it in a year. Keep him there six years—then we shall have Quincys there. Keep the good governor twenty years, if he will serve—then we shall have Bradfords and Winthrops. But a democracy that can not be practical, that does not appreciate experience, that keeps the sophomore in the majority, advertises its incompetence and invites disaster.

This society has devoted much time, in years past, to the study of Herbert Spencer. Herbert Spencer wrote an article on Representative Government for the Westminster Review thirty years ago or more (1857). He said in that article: "To the question, What is representative government for? our reply is: It is good, especially good, good above all others, for doing the things which a government should do; it is bad, especially bad, bad above all others, for doing the things which a government should not do." Carlyle himself could not arraign democracy for its weaknesses and sins more sharply than Mr. Spencer does in this article; but he exposes with equal eloquence and with equal detail the evils of despotism, which Carlyle was not often disposed to do. He recognizes the great services of representative government everywhere in securing justice; but he thinks he detects everywhere among those peoples where the system obtains, a tendency to over-legislation and constant meddling with a thousand things with which the great body of those so meddling are not able to deal wisely or expertly, yet which they are unwilling to intrust to those who are, or to leave to take care of themselves in natural order, outside of politics. Thus Mr. Spencer finds here an illustration of his theory, that gain in one function is loss in others. The article, as a whole, is of the same character as many that Mr. Spencer has written since, the purpose and spirit of it the same as those of the discussion in his recent work, "Man *versus* the State." It is strongly opposed to the more or less socialistic drift of most of the significant political thought of our time, and it does not, to my thinking, reflect the highest and truest conception of the State; but it does show with power that the success of a democracy must lie in its power of self-control and self-education, and in the intelli-

gent and business-like delegation of political offices. And this is what almost every sagacious man is urging, who deals with the problems of democracy to-day. It is urged in a score of recent books, like Mr. Stickney's "A True Republic"; it is urged by Mr. Low with reference to municipal government in New York and Brooklyn; it is urged by Governor Russell with reference to state government in Massachusetts. But the whole point was put by Mr. Mill, in the fifth chapter of his work on Representative Government—in many respects the greatest chapter of that great work—with a distinctness and completeness which have not since been surpassed. "No progress at all can be made toward a skilled democracy," said Mr. Mill, "unless the democracy are willing that the work which requires skill should be done by those who possess it"; and he makes plain the radical distinction between controlling the business of government and actually doing it. It is the failure to recognize this distinction that constantly betrays democracies into the bad habit of voting for large numbers of officers, concerning whom it is impossible that any large number of voters should have adequate knowledge. So far from enabling a community to effectually control its business, this is the very means to prevent effectual control and to make easy such combinations among political workers as shall defeat the desires and will of the people. A true democracy will elect few officers, will give these great powers, and will thus be able to hold them to clear and strict responsibility. The best government in America to-day is the national government—better than any state government or any city government, and better precisely because its officials, who have great duties, have great powers, and responsibility can always be accurately fixed. A true democracy needs no safeguard, no veto, and no weapon but the next election.

What is representative government in its essential nature? Is it simply an instrument of convenience, by which a large democracy does the things which a large democracy can do only so, but which a small democracy does otherwise? An instrument of convenience it certainly is, the only system by which large communities to-day can have self-government. It is a system which has schooled democracies to breadth: for representative government is impossible to a people that can not look beyond parochial and petty affairs to general and distant interests. And while rational society is still in the making, representative government is practically at least,

what such thinkers as Guizot hold it to be essentially and always, a method of creating a governing class better than the general body politic. "Representation," says Guizot, "is not an arithmetical machine to collect and count individual wills"—the individual will, as he justly argues, is not the test in anything—"but a process by which public *reason* may be extracted from the bosom of society." The representative body, according to this thought, is something which stands between an absolute executive and the *demos*. The holders of this theory in its extremest form are the stout defenders of the bicameral system, with great stress upon the exclusiveness and power of senates, and the advocates of double elections, electoral colleges, and all those institutions and processes whereby "public reason" is boiled down and strained, and finds efficient expression as far as possible from its original source.

I do not conceive this theory of representative government to be the truest one; and it is not that which can make the best appeal to the logic of events and tendencies to-day. As conveniences become perfected and multiplied, and the people are brought into close and easy relations with the political machinery, we see everywhere their tendency to assume immediate control of it, the tendency everywhere to do away with what is mediate and complex. The electoral college so painfully elaborated by the framers of our Constitution for the election of the President has become a farce. The wires which carry messages each hour from capital to capital, and from continent to continent, are reducing envoys extraordinary and ministers plenipotentiary to the merest clerks. The conditions of diplomacy in the days of Benjamin Franklin and John Jay were a whole world removed from those of the time of Robert Lincoln and Whitelaw Reid. All matters of moment between nations are settled now directly by their state departments, and it is a question even whether the now almost empty form of diplomatic residence will much longer be kept up. In matters of legislation we see some very significant phenomena—most significant, perhaps, that of the *referendum* in Switzerland, the provision whereby, upon the petition of a certain number of voters, at present I think thirty thousand, any act of the national legislature must be submitted to the popular vote for approval or disapproval. This provision, contrary to many prophecies, has not encouraged anything disorderly or radical in political procedure; it has almost always been invoked, it is

conceded, in conservative interests—and perhaps a sufficient safeguard against its too free exercise will always lie in the discredit attaching to a party or cause which invokes it rashly or disastrously. In the latest state constitutions in our own republic, as, for instance, those recently adopted by North and South Dakota, Washington, and Montana, the executive powers are made very large, although many executive offices—I believe mistakenly—are made elective; while the legislative power is greatly limited by the extremely numerous and detailed provisions of the constitutions, extending to so much which in the older states has been left to the realm of statute law. In the newer city charters we see the disposition to dispense with second chambers and to plan how to give the most efficient constitution to a council of a single house.

All this points to a much more direct control of the government by the people, and to an approach, through the modern conveniences, back to the standpoint and practice of a pure democracy, and suggests the inquiry whether representative government, so far as it be anything other than an instrument of convenience, is other than a school wherein pure democracy can broaden itself and train itself to the capacity to dispense with it—whether, in a word, when a democratic society or state has become mature and wholly rational, its forms will not be of a character much more like those of a pure and primitive democracy than like those of any subsequent period in the educational process. I am speaking of ultimate things and general principles; but general principles upon the theory of government are what each citizen should endeavor to settle for himself, and let them govern him in his dealings with particular and proximate reforms. Pascal said: "Plurality which does not reduce itself to unity is confusion; unity which is not the result of plurality is tyranny." It is one of the best expressions of the idea of perfected representative government, and of perfected democracy. A question always profitable in determining our theories and in determining the direction of our influence is the question: How would it be if the whole mass were in accord with right?

If we ask what important contributions the United States has made to the development of representative government, we may say that one contribution of the highest importance is our federal system, surpassing in extent, in flexibility, and in strength all similar efforts in history. Arising naturally

out of the historical conditions of our colonial existence, the system has extended itself across a continent, as tract after tract has been added to the national domain; and the balance of national and local powers as adjusted by the fathers seems suited to universal application, pointing the way to the federation of the world of which the dreamers dream and poets sing. Does not our Supreme Court also, a creation of bold originality and of the greatest importance in our political system, adjusting differences between state and state and state and nation, point the way to the international tribunal which must play a part so prominent and powerful in that greater federation?

With reference to the American federal system one serious problem does, I believe, confront us, or will confront us in a near future—the problem of the Senate. Whatever the necessities which compelled an equal ranking of the states in the Senate at the time of the adoption of the Constitution, the concession there to-day of the same power to small states and great, to Delaware and Illinois, to New Jersey and New York, can not well be defended as theoretically right; and it surely is not difficult to imagine exigencies which would provoke most serious disaffection with the system. This disaffection would be tempered if the character of the Senate itself remained high, for the personal element is always of great import in politics, successfully counteracting the most serious systematic opposition. But, unfortunately, there is no phenomenon in our political life at present so striking or so mournful as the decay of the Senate, in ability and character. The Senate is surely not without men of ability and character—we do not forget such men as Mr. Sherman and Mr. Hoar; but such men are rapidly becoming lost from sight in the great crowd of adventurers and millionaires, who constitute so startling a contrast to the dignified body of half a century ago. A startling thing it surely is to see a man like Mr. Evarts succeeded here in the Empire State—dead as Mr. Evarts has been in the Senate—by a man like Mr. Hill, a man who never spoke a significant word, never took lead in any significant public cause, and never showed the commonest symptom of any kind of greatness. In Pennsylvania—the Keystone State, as we call it—the case is as bad as in New York, both its senators men who never said one word or did one good thing that any man remembers, the one a notorious political spoilsman, the other a rich man, merely that and nothing

more. Passing to our third state in rank—Ohio—the circumstances attending the entrance of Mr. Payne and Mr. Brice to the Senate are too fresh in your recollection to need recounting; and at this time we see a disposition in nearly half the Republicans of the Ohio Legislature to elect Mr. Foraker to the Senate instead of John Sherman. I will not proceed with this unpleasant bill of particulars. The main point is not that mediocrity and adventurism gravitate to the Senate as they do. The main point is that the domineering moneyed interests of the country, the barons of our great monopolies, are pushing their way into the Senate, as the place where influence is most concentrated, to an extent that bids fair to soon make the Senate chiefly a gathering of millionaires, a rich man's club, a House of Lords. Only such a House of Lords, with simply cash credentials, would be far less venerable for a hundred reasons than its English prototype, which progressive Englishmen are now planning how to get rid of—reasons such as moved a radical like Cobbett, contemplating the mournful increase of a vulgar and absorbing commercialism among the Commons, to exclaim in a mood which we can at least understand: "Thank God, we have a House of Lords!"

It has been rightly said that the character of a representative government is fixed in the long run by the constitution of the popular house. It will become more and more important with us what kind of men we send to the House of Representatives. It is unlikely that we shall see the Senate abolished, at least at any date so early as to make it necessary for me to discuss that contingency here, although some of us may live to see changes in its constitution; and it is doubtful whether we want to see it abolished—whether a second house properly constituted is not a factor of permanent advantage in a national government like ours. If our Congress should ever be reduced to a single chamber, the result would be a more deliberate mode of procedure and a higher standard of membership than we now see in the House of Representatives, and such provision for elections and terms of service as would secure the presence in the House at all times of a great body of experienced men, not likely to be moved by passing flutters.

But at the end it is necessary to say, and we can never say it too often, that the best political system in the world is good for nothing unless behind the system is individual virtue. The test of the government at last is the test of

the citizen. It is in politics as it is in business, and as it is all through life. In Boston we have just had, as is known to the business men among you, a great financial crash; the directors of the Maverick Bank betrayed their trust, and a million dollars are gone. It was a national bank, and so inquiry has gone on and on from the national bank examiner clear to the Secretary of the Treasury at Washington. And the Secretary of the Treasury has said what is worth repeating. He finds no examiner to blame. Each had done his duty in his sphere, but all had been kept from the truth by the easy devices of designing men. No system, says the Secretary, is clever enough or strong enough to insure protection against the devices of designing men; there is no security in business, there is no safety for the community, except in *honest men.*

So it is in the State. We are safe if we are virtuous and if our virtue is alert, if there are enough active good men in the community to overcome the influence of selfish men. "An indolent majority," says Mill, "like an indolent individual, belongs to the person who takes most pains with it." Are good citizens willing to take pains? That is where it all comes to in the end. If not, then they must be prepared for the inevitable consequences. A people that will not do its duty will surely lose its privileges, and will deserve to lose them.

I rejoice to see in so many quarters signs of a higher devotion to political duties and to political studies. I rejoice to see higher definitions of citizenship. I rejoice to see men coming, as you come to-night, into the church to reflect upon their duties as citizens of a free commonwealth in the place where they are wont to reflect upon their standing in the Kingdom of God; for "where the spirit of God is, there"—and there alone permanently—"is liberty."

ABSTRACT OF THE DISCUSSION.

MR. FREDERIC W. HINRICHS:

Doubtless most intelligent men will agree with the lecturer in nearly all he has said. But when he speaks of restricting the suffrage I must take issue with him. That is hardly a practical question, however, for it is scarcely within the bounds of possibility that his suggestions shall be adopted. History shows that the extension of the suffrage is inevitable, and once granted, it will be permanently held. Universal suffrage will surely come; we haven't it yet, even in this country, for women are deprived of the right. To show the defect of our present plan of representation, take an example. In a county in which 100,000 voters are to elect ten representatives, if the districts are equally divided, and the vote in each should be 6,000 for one party and 4,000 for the other, it would be quite possible for one party to elect all the representatives without gerrymandering. The large minority would be entirely unrepresented. Now, by the Hare system, every voter would put upon his ballot the names of several men representing his views. The total votes of the parties would determine the number from each that would be elected: six for one and four for the other, those receiving the greatest number of votes in either party having the preference. The representative need not be a resident of the district from which he is chosen. There is no reason why a Brooklyn voter should not be represented in our State Legislature by a resident of Elmira if he is the best representative of his views. Our present system is monstrous. Large minorities are absolutely unrepresented; and great questions may actually be settled by a minority of the people. There are some evolutionists who believe because all things are developed by natural processes of growth, whatever is is right, and it is of no use to devise systems of improvement. Others say it is a matter of choice. We must believe in the efficacy of education and human volition, or we should not institute and attend such a course of lectures.

MR. HENRY ROWLEY:

It is well that these important topics should be discussed apart from the heat of party politics, calmly and scientifically. While agreeing in the main with the lecturer, I will submit one or two points of criticism. 1. Mr. Mead says the English House of Lords originated

in the Saxon *Witenagemote.* Guizot, in his Representative Government in Europe, shows that the House of Lords belongs to the barons, who were of Norman origin, and has nothing to do with Saxon institutions or influence. The *Witenagemote* was an assembly on a small scale, and at first was attended by everybody. Later it was confined to the rich, because the poor man, the small holder, could not spare the time and money to attend. But the House of Lords is a thing of the barons, grown up upon military power—a ridiculous thing, an utterly useless and obstructive feature in the British system which they can not always tolerate. 2. Mr. Mead says the principle of popular representation came into vogue during the Commonwealth. It may have existed since then in name, but never in fact until 1885. The minority always ruled, because of gerrymandering and unfair distribution of seats. The last questions raised are of great interest. The Hare system was backed by Mill in his book, but not in Parliament. Mill is a theorist; his methods are geometrical rather than practical. Lubbock also is a theorist. The system was once tried in London, but has been superseded by that of district representation. If ideas were represented instead of men, we should have legislatures filled with impractical theorists. If an idea is worth representation, it will, in nine constituencies out of ten, ultimately find a majority in its favor. Nearly all legislation is simply the transaction of business, and our legislators should be practical men. Though chosen by a majority vote, each representative, under our theory, acts for his entire constituency. The minority, therefore, is not unrepresented. The best way to secure responsibility in the voter is to educate him—not to disfranchise him because he is ignorant. Begin with the children—educate them, and democracy will take care of itself. The English system, which compels a ministry to retire when defeated, is more truly democratic than our own. We can only have a true democracy when all the people have a full right to cast their ballots in the most practicable way, without let or hindrance, and those in authority simply carry out the will of the people so expressed.

DR. LEWIS G. JANES:

Mr. Mead has shown that in representative government as it originated in England the representation was of classes rather than of men. Before our own Government was constituted I am not aware that manhood representation was ever successfully attempted on a large scale. As an evolutionist, I recognize that all forms of government are proper in their place—any form exists, or should exist, only as the people are fit for it. In a perfect community manhood suffrage (and I include woman in the term) is the ideal thing. But manhood suffrage

in Central Africa would be an absurdity. Have we reached the social state wherein manhood suffrage is safe and practicable? It is a question in some minds whether we have, but I have not concluded that our method is a failure. Our foreign population is admitted to suffrage easily, but less easily assimilated by our body politic. In two or three generations, however, the descendants of immigrants make as good voters as any. The suffrage is a great educating power. I agree with Mr. Hinrichs that we can take no backward step—toward the limitation of suffrage by a property qualification, for instance—save by an absolute revolution.

Mr. Mead, in closing, said: I do not wish to be understood as defending the House of Lords. It is "useless, dangerous, and ought to be abolished." But when one sees the rapidity with which the American Senate is becoming the representative of the great money interests, one may rightly compare it with the House of Lords to see how, in that body, even as Cobbett saw, are qualities and credentials more dignified than those which so often get approval among us. As to the origin of the House of Lords in the *Witenagemote:* it is true a great part was played by the Normans, but the old Saxon institutions were gradually merged with the Norman. The historical view is excellently presented by Mr. Freeman in his little book on the English Constitution. The *Witenagemote* did not deal simply with the affairs of the locality, but also with those of the realm. It is true, too, that it is only in our time that the English have had a fair representation. The principle was forecast by the men of the Commonwealth. In comparing our system with that of England we must not forget that the Crown does exercise real power in times of change. The Crown is the hinge on which ministries turn, and we have no such feature in our system. Just there the French constitution, I believe, will wreck. It can exist as long as they have Presidents like Grévy and Carnot—able to work with ministries of varying complexions. Men like Gambetta could not do it; such men have too strong feelings to permit them to work with those sharply opposed to themselves. I believe that there was great danger of revolution in France under Macmahon. My idea of a restricted suffrage is certainly not to make it small, but to guard against ignorance and too easy naturalization. The Hare system, I wish to say, is not backed by political theorists exclusively. Two or three hundred members of Parliament have declared in favor of it, and the general principle of proportional representation had the unanimous approval of a committee of the United States Senate appointed at one time to consider the matter.

SUFFRAGE AND THE BALLOT

BY

DANIEL S. REMSEN

COLLATERAL READINGS SUGGESTED:

Bryce's The American Commonwealth; Fiske's Civil Government in the United States; McMillan's Elective Franchise in the United States; Sir John Lubbock's Representation; Sterne's Representative Government and Proportional Representation; Buckalew's Proportional Representation; Bowker's Electoral Reform; Ivins's Machine Politics; Lawton's American Caucus System; Whittridge's The Caucus System; Roosevelt's Essays on Practical Politics; Hare's Election of Representatives, Parliamentary and Municipal; Mill's Considerations on Representative Government.

SUFFRAGE AND THE BALLOT.

By Daniel S. Remsen.

As the suffrage and the ballot are at the foundation of our national life, they demand both a careful and a religious consideration.

Suffrage is the act of voting. The right to perform that act is known as the right of suffrage or the elective franchise. This right is secured to certain persons by the Constitution of the United States as well as by those of the several States. I will not touch upon the propriety of extending the right of suffrage to women, or of restricting it further in case of resident aliens, as other essays to be read before you will deal with those points.

Representation.

Under every form of government where people have the right to vote, some form of representation is necessary. Few public duties can be performed by the whole body of the people. Most public duties devolve on individuals acting for the whole. Persons performing those duties on behalf of the public are called officers or officials, and in popular governments they are said to "represent" the people, as they act for them. With reference to representation, officials may be divided into two classes. One class is composed of the single officers, such as governor, mayor, sheriff, and the like, each acting alone for all the people within a particular State or district.

The other class is composed of the plural officers, such as senators, members of assembly, aldermen, and the like, who act together in performing the duties of their offices, which are generally legislative in their nature.

With these two classes of officials in mind you will readily see that where a single official—for example, a governor—is elected by a slight majority, he in one sense represents only those who voted for him, while in another sense he represents all. In the last sense he represents all, not because he is chosen by all, but because he must act for all.

Where, however, the duties to be performed fall into the hands of a body of officers, and not to a single individual, there is opportunity for what is more properly termed representation.

To represent, in its proper sense, is to stand for or act for another in any transaction. If, for instance, in the election of assemblymen, a certain number of voters residing anywhere throughout the State, without reference to district, were allowed to agree upon a particular person to act for them in the Assembly, such voters would be represented in the fullest and best sense of the word, as their representative would be a man of their choice. A legislature elected in that manner would be a miniature of the people. This method of representation is what is known as personal representation, and is probably the most perfect that can be devised. Some twenty-five years ago an endeavor was made by David Dudley Field, Simon Sterne, and others, to have that method of representation adopted in this State. That method, however, is not generally understood, and consequently it is not appreciated. The present method of representation is very different. It is what is known as the single-district system. The State is divided into districts, and the voters in each district are allowed to send one representative to the Legislature. As it is impossible to bring all the inhabitants of any district to agree on the election of one representative, it follows that all who do not vote for the successful candidate have no chosen representative to speak for them. This fact has given rise to a demand for some form of minority representation in legislative bodies. The imperfect representation which is unavoidable in the election of a single officer, such as a governor or mayor, has been unnecessarily extended to the election of legislative bodies by the use of the single-district system. Added to this we have what is familiarly known as the gerrymandering of districts, whereby bad representation becomes misrepresentation.

While there are other forms of representation, we will not stop to consider them. But if we look generally over the field of elections, we will notice that most officers chosen are such as hold the only position of the kind within the particular State, municipality, or district. That is, aside from presidential electors, and in this city aldermen, practically all voting is for single officers, such as a governor, mayor, a State senator, assemblyman, sheriff, and the like. As that is the general rule in this and other States, my

remarks will be confined to single elections or elections of single officers.

The Spoils System.

Before proceeding further I wish you to understand how the faulty representation incident to single elections fosters and encourages what is known as the spoils system. The election of a single officer is secured by the united action of a fraction of the voters—not all the voters. Hence the person elected ordinarily feels indebted to that fraction of the community, and if he does not do all in his power as a public officer to reward his supporters, he is looked upon as ungrateful. Thus has grown up a system of vassalage, or a feudal tenure of office. In this way, after parties have come into power, their ability to dispose of patronage acts as a cement to keep the party together.

New parties are always formed about some political principle or policy of government. At first they draw their support and increase, if any, from other political parties by detaching from them voters who believe in the new principle and are not attached to the old party by office or the hope of it. I do not mean to say that none come from selfish motives. Undoubtedly many do when there is hope of success, but the spoils system plays no part in party management until there is some measure of success. As soon as a party succeeds in electing its candidate to office, there are plenty within its ranks to look about for loaves and fishes. And the more power the officer has to distribute good things by creating or filling vacancies in minor offices, the more he is besieged and the more likely he is to serve his party rather than the people in the administration of his office. The result of the spoils system is that many elections, involving no policy of government except the honesty and ability of the candidates, degenerate into desperate struggles between members of two parties for a means of livelihood. In any consideration of the spoils system it is important to examine its cloak—

The National Issue in Local Affairs.

How absurd it is to drag national politics into local elections! to elect a mayor because he favors tariff reform or to defeat a candidate for constable because he thinks the

National Government should enter upon the free coinage of silver! Such a practice can not be excused except from a party standpoint. For it I can see but two motives: First, the securing of office and patronage as spoils, and, Second, the holding of voters together so that they can be relied upon when national issues do arise.

The first motive is entirely selfish, and the last is not above criticism, besides being uncomplimentary to the intelligence of the voter. A marked instance of this confusion of issues was exhibited in the last campaign when certain citizens and newspapers supported the Democratic candidate for governor and other candidates on national issues, lest the election of a Republican governor should lead the public to believe that the State of New York favored the policy of the present administration in tariff legislation. In Ohio and Massachusetts it is reported that campaigns were fought and won on national issues. Even in municipal elections irrelevant issues were raised and determined the election. In this way many a person who would be the choice of the people to perform the duties of an office has been defeated, much to the detriment of the public service. The existence of these facts indicates a weakness in our election machinery which should not be overlooked, and to which I will recur at the end of this paper.

The Ballot.

In the consideration of suffrage and the ballot our attention is drawn most naturally to the act of voting by means of the ballot. And we will endeavor to consider it from the practical rather than from the historical point of view.

Originally, as you all know, the ballot was a ball, a shell, or other symbol by which the voter indicated whether he was in favor of or against a particular proposition. That old style of voting is still popular and serviceable in clubs and societies for speedy action on simple questions. After the invention of printing came the printed paper ballot in various forms, until what is probably the most perfect form of ballot yet devised has made its appearance—the blanket ballot of the Australian system. There the names of all the candidates for a given office are arranged alphabetically on a single ballot and the voter is allowed to mark the name of the person for whom he votes. By the use of the Australian system of voting the danger of

BRIBERY AND CORRUPTION

in elections has been overcome to a considerable extent. The secrecy enforced in voting is the point of safety. By that simple device the would-be purchaser of a vote is deprived of a means of absolute certainty that the vender of a vote voted according to contract. But, notwithstanding the secrecy incident to voting, practical politicians assert that many votes are still bought. Probably the instruments now most conducive to the purchase and sale of votes in this State are the separate party ballots and the paster ballot. But as these are already in much disfavor, it is to be hoped that they will soon disappear. Another recent improvement in laws relating to elections is the

CORRUPT PRACTICES ACT.

While our State legislation on this subject is not wholly satisfactory, it is a great improvement on former statutes. Formerly, only the ordinary gift or promise of money or thing of value as a consideration for voting or withholding a vote constituted bribery. Now, however, bribery may consist in promising office or employment, or to make endeavor to procure office or employment, for any person as a means of influencing votes. Indeed, I am not sure that the words of this statute do not make it unlawful to employ workers at the polls for hire.

Under another wholesome provision of this act the public is able to form some idea of the part played by money in political campaigns. Each candidate is required to file an itemized statement showing in detail all the moneys contributed or expended by him, directly or indirectly, in aid of his election. Under this law the favorite method is for candidates to contribute to a campaign committee and to file a statement to that effect. What becomes of the money subsequently is, of course, unknown. Committees are not obliged to make any showing as they should, and probably soon will be. The saddest spectacle in the last campaign was the enforced contribution by able and honorable men who were candidates for several of the most important judicial positions within the gift of the people. Their enforced contributions ranged as high as ten thousand dollars. One political organization in this way gathered in from successful candidates for judicial positions something like thirty

thousand dollars, one of the candidates for civil justice having contributed $500 more than one year's salary, which is $6,000. These enforced contributions on the part of the candidates must be regarded either as blackmail on the candidate or as a price paid for the office. That such a condition of affairs should exist under any form of government is simply scandalous.

Michigan has passed a law on the lines of the New York statute, but has extended the provisions in regard to sworn statements so as to include the account of moneys expended by campaign committees. It also prohibits treating and certain other forms of expenditure of campaign funds. In Minnesota a bill has been proposed containing a provision limiting the amount that can be expended by candidates for the several offices. This is on the plan of the English statute, which has worked very satisfactorily. When to these provisions is added some form of judicial inquiry as to the use of the funds, where deemed advisable, which I believe is proposed in Massachusetts, legislation on this point will be quite satisfactory. Even then there is one matter which should not be overlooked. That is the practice of

Trading Votes.

"If you will vote my ticket for mayor I will vote your ticket for governor." How often is such a proposition made and accepted between voters of good standing in the community, but of opposite politics! Such a transaction does not come within the statute relating to bribery; but I do not believe it can be defended from an ethical point of view. If, as is generally conceded, the State can rightfully claim that it is the duty of citizens to vote, it necessarily follows that each voter is under obligations to pass upon each matter according to his best judgment. What would be thought of a judge if he should announce that he would decide a certain case upon the merits of some other? If judges can not properly trade decisions, voters should not trade votes.

Let us now pass from the means of voting and the protection of the sacred character of the ballot to the joint action of voters.

The United Action of Voters

is absolutely necessary. Whatever may be the method of voting, it is almost useless for voters to participate in the modern election without taking some preconcerted action. This was well illustrated some years ago by the late Howard Crosby. He had been reported as having voted for John Morrissey for State Senator, and a reporter was sent to ascertain as to the truth of the story. Dr. Crosby was met as he was leaving his home, and when asked about the matter he hurriedly replied: "I did not vote for Mr. Schell (Mr. Morrissey's opponent) because he represented Tammany Hall, and I did not vote for John Morrissey because he is a gambler." "But you did vote?" queried the reporter. "True," answered the doctor, "I voted for Prof. Doremus, of course not with any expectation of electing him, but simply to express my individual preference. I knew it was all moonshine; I simply threw away my vote for the reasons mentioned."

Means of uniting Voters.

This little incident will serve to impress on the mind the absence of any means provided by law tending to bring about united action by voters. Citizens are left to their own expedients. They are at liberty to combine in any way they shall see fit. The result is that two forms of combination have appeared: first, the combination among individuals, called parties, and, second, the occasional combination between parties, called fusions.

I will first speak of

Party Combinations,

or fusion tickets as a means of uniting voters. Where there are but two parties, if the election does not result in a tie the candidate of one party necessarily secures more than half the votes. In that case he is said to be elected by a majority. Where there are more than two parties in the field it very frequently happens that they are nearly evenly divided. According to the method ordinarily used in public elections, the candidate receiving the greatest number of votes would be elected, notwithstanding the fact that the combined strength of the other two candi-

dates might be almost double his vote. To illustrate: If in the election of a president of this association one candidate should receive thirty-four votes, and two other candidates each thirty-three votes, the one receiving thirty-four votes would, under the rules applied to public elections, be elected to the office.

In Europe elections by a minority are not so common as in this country. The means ordinarily employed to secure a majority is to have a second election between the two highest candidates, which necessarily secures the desired result. That plan, however, in this country is not generally adopted, and elections are frequently decided by a minority vote where there are more than two candidates in the field.

As we all know, scattering votes are of no importance in determining an election. Likewise the voters of a third party have no affirmative effect on the result. Indeed, if the state has an interest in having all vote who are entitled to do so, it has an equal interest in having every vote counted for one of the two principal candidates, for then, and not otherwise, a vote aids in determining an election.

These considerations have given rise to the occasional practice of the principal minority parties agreeing before an election on what is termed a fusion ticket. They agree for the time being to join their forces with the hope of together securing a majority vote. In order to do this, however, it is necessary for one or the other party, or perhaps both, to abandon temporarily, or to some extent, its party organization. To this there are many objections from a party standpoint. The result is that many voters are lukewarm in support of a fusion ticket or do not vote at all. Election machinery should tend to the unification of all voters. The present election machinery, however, does not make any provision for aiding the voters of different parties to unite at an election without at least some of the voters abandoning their party to support a fusion ticket. This, it seems to me, is one of the weakest points in our present election laws and one which can be remedied in the manner hereafter to be described.

We now come to

The Party as a Means of uniting Voters.

The party as a political force sprang up very early in the history of this country. It still exists, and probably always will. A similar condition of affairs appears to be present wherever it is necessary to ascertain the popular will. A political party is an association of voters for the purpose of securing the adoption of some favorite policy in the administration of government. Its function is to bring about united action among voters in favor of its principles. While a party is generally put to a different use, it in some particulars reminds one of the sand-bag sometimes used by highwaymen. Its strength and utility lie in small particles closely confined and arranged into a convenient form of club. The knowledge of each voter that if he does not act with a party he is practically disfranchised is perhaps one of the greatest agencies in holding a party together. Few care to imitate Dr. Crosby, and vote simply for "moonshine."

On the formation of a party and ever afterward some agency must be provided for

Determining the Line of Party Action.

The means originally employed in this country for that purpose was the caucus, which some say derived its name from meetings of ship calkers held in Boston shortly prior to the Revolution. But, without going into the origin of the name, we find the methods of the caucus employed in the Plymouth Colony at the election of a governor in 1635. This, Mr. Hildreth says, in his history of the United States, is the first instance of the caucus system on record. Mr. Lawton, however, in his work on the American Caucus System, claims that the historian is in error. He refers to the case of Abimelech, one of the sons of Gideon, who desired the judgeship vacated by the death of his father, and says that when Abimelech took advantage of the kinship of his mother, who was a Shechemite, and "communed" with his mother's relatives, this communion was simply a caucus.

However interesting such speculation may be, it is probably true that the caucus system, as applied to parties, is essentially an American institution, and had its rise, or came into general use, shortly after the adoption of the

present Constitution of the United States. In its primitive form it may be said to have resembled the famous town meetings of New England, in which a century or so ago were gathered some of the most noted persons in American history to discuss public questions with the greatest deliberation. Hon. Thomas M. Cooley, so well and favorably known to the people of the United States, has said of the caucus: "Theoretically, it may be defined as a deliberative meeting of citizens for consultation, with a view to determine the course of public action," but practically he takes a very different view of it. As the town meeting has become obsolete in populous communities, so the caucus in its original use has very largely passed away. In our large cities a caucus of all the voters within a party would be impracticable; hence the primary election and nominating convention have been substituted, and the caucus is left to the party leaders. I need not take your time to describe how the voters in each party organize in each ward and elect delegates to a county or State convention for the nomination of officers. That is well known to all. The machinery of these organizations, however, is generally more or less complicated, and political leaders become very expert in its manipulation.

Let us now look at

Parties as they are Managed.

Perhaps the most distinguished and at the same time the most disinterested witness that could be called on this point is Prof. Bryce. In his American Commonwealth he says of the parties and their management in this country: "Parties go on contending because their members have formed a habit of joint action, and have contracted hatred and prejudices, and also because the leaders find it to their advantage in using these habits, and playing upon these prejudices. The American parties continue to exist because they have existed. The mill has been constructed and its machinery goes on turning, even where there is no grist to grind. But this is not wholly the fault of the men, for the system of government requires parties just as that of England does. These systems are made to be worked, and always have been worked, by a majority. The majority must be cohesive, gathered into a united and organized body. Such a body is a party."

One of the most severe arraignments of party management which has come to my notice was recently put forth by a body of very respectable citizens in the city of Philadelphia. They say: "In a commonwealth of over five millions of people, the industrious citizen, occupied by business, by domestic or social responsibilities, has insensibly permitted the formation of a political clique, which has been guided largely by two considerations—self-interest, and the perpetuation of personal power. . . ." He "has been sometimes cajoled, sometimes deceived, sometimes conciliated, but the process of perfecting the machinery of the political organization for the convenience of its clever artificers has gone steadily forward. . . . There is a premium placed upon political subservience, but not upon political independence, however sincere its spirit, however essential to our progressive civilization." They also say that the consequence is that few men of distinguished merit enter public life.

In another State it is asserted on good authority that the principal nominations in both parties are dictated by one and the same person, or coterie of persons who are acting together for their individual interests.

Let me read an extract from a letter received from one of the best-known and most public-spirited men in the United States. He has held many responsible public offices. His name is known to you all, but, as I can not use it, I will say that it commands respect in all parties. He says briefly: "The evil to be remedied is the dictation of the political boss. As parties are now constituted, nominations are made, not by the community or any considerable portion of it, but by a single man, who, for the time being, is in control of the party machine. I never held office except by the consent of such a boss, and when I rebelled against him I was defeated. I know of no remedy for this state of things, because the public stand idly by and permit the dictation, and seem rather to enjoy the results of it. Education and intelligence have always been put forward as the proper antidotes for political evils, but my observation leads me to think that the educated portion of the community is more apt to follow the machine than any other portion of it, because the uneducated can be purchased, while the enlightened are probably beyond the reach of that temptation."

This form of criticism is not confined to any one party.

The complaint is general and practically unanimous among thinking men that party management has become so centralized in persons controlling the patronage that they make the party nominations.

Let us now inquire,

Why is Party Management unduly Centralized?

When criticism is offered on this point, the first retort one hears is: "Whose fault is it?" There is no attempt at denial, but the sins of all are laid at the door of those who abstain from attendance at the primaries. But who are those people who so sadly neglect their political duties? I believe the answer given to this question by Mr. Joseph H. Choate is generally accepted as correct. He says they are "the great body of the educated men of the country and the still greater body of business men of the country." The reasons for this neglect are manifold. The citizens referred to by Mr. Choate are busily engaged throughout the day in an exhausting pursuit of their private business, and when night comes, which is the time when most political organizations take action, they are fatigued, and their home, or some place of amusement, is more congenial to their tastes. Besides, when they are induced to attend, they find the surroundings not at all pleasing. As they seldom attend the meetings, they are unknown to their associates. Consequently they have very little weight in the organization. They are willing to do what they can, but they do not know how to go about it, and have not the time or the inclination to enter into any heated contests for the control of the primary organization. On the other hand, those voters who are not accustomed to spend their evenings at home are out in full force, as the political organization is to them more or less of a club home. They know the frequenters of the primary, and are well known. Their evenings at the primary are spent more or less congenially, and thus it happens that they become attached to the leaders of the organization, and between them there is more or less fellowship. This is only natural. In any sort of organization the work is apt to devolve on a few, and as the work falls on a few, the management is likely to drift into their own hands. The less work that is done by any member, the less he is likely to be called upon to take any active part.

THE REMEDY NOW IN USE

for the neglect of the primary is described by Mr. Theodore Roosevelt in his essay on Practical Politics. Under the head of Beating the Machine he says: "In the better wards the difficulty comes in drilling a little sense and energy into decent people. They either do not care to combine, or else refuse to learn how. In one district we did at one time, and for a considerable period, get control of affairs and elect a set of almost ideal delegates and candidates to the various nominating and legislative bodies, and in the end took an absolutely commanding, though temporary, position in the State, and even in national politics. This was done by the efforts of some twenty or thirty young fellows who devoted a large part of their time to thoroughly organizing and getting out the respectable vote."

If, then, we are to assume that the primary political organizations are not what they should be, and that the only present remedy, as Mr. Roosevelt puts it, "is by the united and persistent effort of those who are least likely to engage in that pursuit," is it not time to recognize the fact that that agency can not be relied upon? I think it is. The facts have proved it a hundred times, and all admit it. This brings up the question: "What shall be done?" To this point I will recur before closing.

RECIPROCAL DUTIES OF STATE AND CITIZEN.

In order to make effective the remedy referred to by Mr. Roosevelt, it seems to be necessary for citizens to devote not only a considerable portion of their time, but to do so in an employment which is not congenial to their tastes. That it is the duty of each citizen to give a reasonable amount of his time, and to expend a reasonable amount of energy, in securing proper nominations to public office, all will admit. Each citizen undoubtedly owes this duty to the State, and owing to this duty to the State, the State in turn is obligated to furnish him with the means whereby the time and energy which duty requires him to give shall be expended in a manner that shall make his effort felt in the result. It can not justly require him to give up a large portion of his time and require him to study and practice what has become a profession in order that his influence shall be felt in making nominations. The State has also a duty to

the citizen growing out of the fact that it prints the ballots. It should see to it that the names of the candidates which it prints upon the ballots to be cast by the voter are not chosen through fraud and trickery. As it is useless for single individuals to go to the polls without prior organization in the hope of electing an independent candidate to office, it is the duty of the State to see to it that the organizations among voters, so far as they operate to place candidates in nomination, conform to fair and reasonable rules.

Thus far we have considered the present means of voting, and present means afforded voters for united action. Let us now turn our attention to

Remedies.

These we will treat in two chapters: one relating to so-called election machinery and the other to nominating machinery.

If any one expects to have provided an infallible remedy for all political evils, he will do me a favor by laying aside such a violent supposition. The best that can properly be expected is something in the nature of suggestions which, let us hope, may be worthy of consideration.

The *first* improvement I wish to urge in relation to

Election Machinery

is the adoption of a means whereby voters of different parties can unite at an election without the voters of either party abandoning their candidate. In other words, a means whereby each party can support its own candidate, and at the same time unite with another to defeat a third, and thus prevent minority elections. The means I wish to advocate for this purpose is very simple. It is this: Permit each voter to indicate on his ballot his second choice as well as his first choice candidate. This he can do very easily where the genuine Australian blanket ballot is used. The voter would simply have to mark the figure 1 opposite the name of his first-choice candidate, and the figure 2 opposite his second choice. Then, when the time comes to count the votes, let each ballot be counted according to the first choice, and without any reference to the second choice. If the result of this count should be that no candidate received a majority of all the votes cast, let the

candidate having the least number of first-choice votes retire from the race, and then let the ballots cast by the persons who supported him be redistributed according to the second choice marked on each ballot.

Perhaps you can better understand by an illustration. Suppose in an election A received five votes, B four, and C three. If we stop here, A would be elected. Suppose, however, that each person who voted for C had written on his ballot these words: "I give my vote for C unless he proves to be the least popular candidate; in that case I vote for B." Now, if these three ballots cast for C are to go as they are marked, B will have seven votes, and be elected, while A will have only five. Without resorting to numbers, an apt illustration can be made by extending the last three fingers on one hand. In that case the middle finger would represent the greatest number of votes cast for a candidate; the third finger the next lower, and the little finger the number of votes cast for the candidate having the least number of supporters. By this illustration it will be seen that if the length of the little finger be added to the length of the third finger, the combined length would greatly exceed that of the middle finger. Thus the candidate represented by the third finger would be elected by a large majority.

Lest further details might not prove interesting on this occasion, we will pass this topic, leaving those who care to do so to examine this point more fully by reading the article entitled Election by the Majority, in the December, 1890, number of the Century Magazine. Another description may also be found on page 4 of the New York Tribune of October 28, 1891, under the head of A New Method of Voting.

In approaching the *second* suggested method of improvement, I wish to recall to your mind the part played in local elections by the introduction of national or other irrelevant issues. I wish you to call to mind, also, the motives for bringing forward such issues. There seem to be but two. One is to make use of a confusion of issues as a means of securing spoils. Another is to hold a party together for action when an issue is properly presented.

While it may be perfectly proper to keep a party together for use as occasion may arise, it is certainly improper to use a national issue as a means of inducing voters to support unworthy candidates in local elections for the purpose of securing the spoils of office.

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The best remedy for this state of affairs which has occurred to me would be to allow each party to have its party principle printed at the head of the blanket ballot furnished by the State, and thus submit the same to the voters for their approval or rejection by a direct vote. For example, the principles at the head of the blanket ballot might read:

Free Coinage, { for. / against.

Free Trade, { for. / against.

Prohibition, { for. / against.

Then, when the voter came to vote, he would be enabled to approve the principle put forth by one party, and at the same time support the candidate of another party without danger of his vote being misconstrued, thus affecting a national issue in a manner he may wish to avoid. Then, too, a direct expression of principle on the part of voters generally would be far more satisfactory than the present speculative inferences. Such an expression would be some sort of a guide to legislative bodies, and an index to the feeling of the public on the most prominent issues of the day. Of course such voting would be of no effect other than advisory, but that is sufficient. It is now thought desirable to fight whole campaigns to obtain the same result by indirect means. Many elections are now fought and won on the points that would be involved in such a vote. It seems to me, therefore, that, to say the least, no harm could be done by trying the experiment. I believe, with proper provisions for ascertaining the result, it could be made to take the national issue out of local affairs, and would at the same time rob the spoils system of a most effective cloak.

The remainder of what I shall say on remedies will be devoted to the means by which nominations should be made. That means is often called

Nominating Machinery.

To recall to your minds the present method of making nominations, permit me to quote the remark of a prominent

politician made to me a few days since. He said: "It's great sport to see people go to the polls in herds and vote like cattle for the ticket we prepare. Reformers don't begin at the right point. They should begin at the place where nominations are made. The people think they make the nominations, but we do that business for them."

Let us now aim at the point where nominations are made. To this end we will proceed to the next suggested remedy, viz.: If the parties do not voluntarily do so, let the State, by a law, provide a set of just and equable rules under which all party nominations must be made. If we would call such a set of rules a machine, let it be so perfect in its operation that the product shall be the result in equal proportions of the will of each person who votes in the primary. Let the product be not the will of any one man more than another, except so far as that will may be supported by a number of persons of like mind. The construction of such a machine, or set of rules, would be a task of no mean importance. The first attempt would probably show many points of weakness which would become manifest by use, and would have to be cured subsequently. When a nomination is believed to be thoroughly representative, and to be the result of the true sentiment of the party, voters will loyally support the nomination. And the contrary result has also been observed on numerous occasions where the nomination was believed to have been brought about by too great centralization of power. Therefore, even from a party standpoint, it is for a party's interest to provide suitable means to insure to the rank and file of the party a proper participation in nominations. If all parties should pursue that course it would be unnecessary for the State to take any action for that purpose. But they will not, as many politicians will claim that the present party machinery works equably and justly to all.

It is a principle of our government to allow to each citizen, as far as practicable, the largest liberty in the conduct of his personal and political affairs. For that reason it would be best to leave, as far as possible, the management of the details of nominating machinery to the members of the party putting the same in operation. But while it is proper to leave the details to individual action, it is also proper that certain essentials should be required by the State. As to what are those essentials we will now proceed to inquire.

In the present law relating to primary elections there are many salutary provisions which are designed and have operated to improve the management of primary elections, but its provisions should be extended. I will mention only such essentials as it seems to me should be added to the present law. First, in order to entitle the party to file a certificate of nomination, it should be required to proceed according to the law governing primary elections, and to make proper proof of that fact. Second, that law should provide that nominations to office should be made by a direct vote within the party under the Australian system, with the additional feature that the voters be given the benefit of a second choice. The idea of making nominations by a direct vote within the party is not new. It has been in use many years in some parts of Ohio, where it is known as the Crawford County system. It has generally worked well. I am informed, however, that the greatest difficulty is that several candidates for the nomination have sometimes received almost an equal number of votes. On that point there has been some discussion in Ohio about adopting the system to which I have already alluded, whereby a voter is allowed to express his second choice. By the adoption of that system of election at the primaries in connection with the Australian system, I have no doubt that the evil complained of would be overcome.

Under the Australian system of voting, candidates for a party nomination would be presented to the primaries by means of nominating papers signed by individuals. If the number of names required to be appended to such papers was sufficiently large it would prevent an undue multiplicity of candidates. Conventions, however, might be retained for the purpose of adopting platforms, or, if it were thought best, instead of abolishing the nominating feature of the convention, that institution might be used to present several names from which the members of the party should select a candidate. The third essential is an adequate provision to insure a full vote within the party. To this end the polls might be required to remain open a certain length of time for every one hundred persons entitled to vote at the primary, or the polls might be required to remain open a certain number of nights, or until the voters on any one night should fall below a certain number. If a full vote within the party could not be secured by other means, possibly it would be wise to make some provision whereby absentees

could vote by mail or special messenger. In that case, however, the ballot might be sealed in a wrapper and have indorsed thereon an affidavit of the voter that the ballot had been prepared secretly, and sealed in the wrapper without being exhibited to any other person, and such other matters as might be deemed advisable, showing, of course, that the voter was duly qualified to vote at the election. Then the wrapper might be opened in the presence of the officers at the primary and the vote might be deposited in the box without being examined by any person. While I do not care to commit myself at the present time to the advisability of permitting absentees to vote, I wish to make note of the point. I presume that such a method of voting would be open to criticism unless the same should be surrounded by very judicious safeguards. If such provision could be made, which would prove unobjectionable, it would render it easy for a voter to take part in the primary political organization, and that, I believe, according to Mr. Roosevelt and all the authorities I have been unable to consult, is the point at which our present primary organizations need correction. On the whole, I am convinced that no important advance can be made in doing away with the centralized power in party organizations until the State, or each political party, is induced by some organized effort to require party nominations to be made by a direct vote within the party under rules insuring a full, fair, and effective vote.

Hoping such an effort will be made in the near future, and thanking you for the courtesy I have received, I will leave the subject to the speakers who are to follow.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISCUSSION.

MR. WALTER S. LOGAN:

I agree with Mr. Remsen very heartily in all that he says in favor of a fair representation and an honest ballot. These are at the foundation of our national life, and are the basis of all our hope for a higher civilization. One is as important as the other. An honest representation must precede an honest ballot. You can never get the latter until you grant the former. You can never persuade the people of the enormity of buying or selling a vote while the Constitution and laws themselves provide for stealing away its force and effect. If there is any difference in the degree of the wrong, unfair representation is worse than a dishonest ballot. Dishonesty in voting is the crime of an individual; dishonesty in representation is a crime of the community itself. Take the present laws of Connecticut and New York, for example. It is well known that our system of representation is so unjust that thousands of voters are practically disfranchised, and State legislatures, and even State governments, as at present in Connecticut, are controlled by a minority. I agree with Mr. Remsen in advocating the Australian ballot and the Corrupt Practices act. But there are some particular reforms on which he seems to have a patent of his own which do not commend themselves to my judgment. First, his proposition that the voter should be allowed to vote for a second as well as a first choice of candidates. This might work in a company of angels, but not in New York or Brooklyn. It would encourage third parties and third candidates, and I do not believe in third parties. Each campaign should present a distinct issue, and citizens should choose one side or the other. In 1892 I hope to see the campaign of 1888 fought over again, only more earnestly, and with a different result—with James G. Blaine as the candidate on one side, and Grover Cleveland on the other. The second-choice device would afford colossal opportunities for fraud. It would be easy for those who manipulate the ballots to insert a figure "2" in such a manner as to favor their candidates. I regard the seller of votes as a greater criminal than the buyer. I would by no means remove the penalty from the vote-buyer, but I would place the heavier penalty on the vote-seller. If either was to be relieved from punishment in order to convict the other, I would let the vote-buyer go free, and convict, condemn, and punish, with all the penalties

of the law and all the terrors of social ostracism combined, the ingrate and dastard who betrays for money and for private gain the highest trust which has ever been imposed upon man.

MR. WILLIAM H. WILLIAMS:

I am not one who believes that whatever is, is right. Still, I do not find enough fault with the present system to demand the changes suggested. When a party is formed, one of its first acts, in convention of the whole, is to adopt rules and regulations for its government, which are from time to time amended. The Republican party is now working under such rules. In each ward there is an enrollment of the citizens who recognize the principles of the party, and voted its ticket at the preceding election. A new-comer in Brooklyn, by stating that he voted for the Republican Governor at the last election, can get his name enrolled. In my ward less than half the voters are members of the ward organizations. Prior to an election the wards comprising an assembly district meet and select delegates to a convention which nominates an assemblyman. If the candidate is a Senator, the delegates are from the wards that make up the senatorial district—and so forth. Every member of the party has a right to go to the meetings for choosing delegates. I do not see how the changes suggested can improve upon this method. The great evil is that so large a number of members of the party do not attend the meetings. If a sense of public duty is not sufficient, I can not see how legislation can improve this. The remedy is in educating public sentiment so that each shall regard this as a fundamental duty which he owes to his country. I am inclined to think that voting ought to be made compulsory. This rule has worked well as applied to the jury system. Why not make the same law applicable in politics? I do not believe in the stay-at-home theory, nor do I believe in dissociating national and local questions. We must not divide a people into too many parties. Election statistics show that the less the importance of the office the smaller is the vote. With separate election days we should find the vote for President very full, and that for aldermen very small. It is the people who are close to the line which divides the parties who determine elections. Whatever education or legislation will make every individual feel it his duty to have a choice between parties and public policies, and express it by ballot, ought to be adopted. If all would do so, they would find the good people to be in the majority, and the evils of which we complain would be corrected.

DR. ROBERT G. ECCLES:

I should like to ask the lecturer how the blanket ballot would prevent the indirect buying of votes by paying men for not registering.

MR. JOHN A. TAYLOR:

When the palæontologist of the twentieth century looks back on these times, I think one of the most surprising things to him will be the utter absurdity of our ballot systems, and the fuss and fury we have about voting. Our fathers shed their blood for the sacred right of representation, but we trample it under foot. I would rather trust the government of the city of New York to-day to the people who do not vote than to those who do. Yet if any attempt were made to abridge the suffrage there would be armies and battles and bloodshed in its defense. We have heard to-night of devices to secure "minority representation." Why, we have it already, and nothing else. I can name ten men in this city who can say who will be the next mayor. With their support, I should be mayor myself; and I should represent the minority. Mr. Logan opposes the second choice, but the second is often superior to the first. I consider this device of Mr. Remsen's an excellent one. In Rhode Island an absurd law compels them to hold elections over and over again, until some candidate obtains a majority of all the votes. Mr. Remsen's device would avoid this. We need an honest ballot; everybody believes in that. But we shall never have it until we begin at the other end. I would have registration for the primaries. At the election we can choose only one of two candidates—often our choice is one of two evils. The delegation to the nominating convention really determines the election, and the power behind the throne controls the delegation. Let us have attendance at the primaries compulsory. I don't want to join any party for all time, but I am willing to attend the primaries if others will. I should like to have those who believe in reforming the parties from the inside refer to a single case where such a reform has been accomplished. There is not a great moral influence of the age which has come from the inside. It is the independent, who will not submit to party dictation, who compels reform. I believe with the other speakers in educating public sentiment. This must be our final dependence in effecting political reforms.

MR. REMSEN, in closing: The argument that voters can be bribed to stay at home does not reflect against the blanket ballot. That can be done under our present system. I am obliged to Mr. Logan for admitting that the second choice would work well in a community

of angels. I do not claim it will work better among thieves than the present system of election. In the recent municipal election in New York, if the voters had had a second choice, the 30,000 registered voters who staid at home would undoubtedly have voted. Compulsory voting would be of no use unless the voter had the second choice, for although a voter may be compelled to go to the polls, he can not be compelled to vote for one of the two principal candidates. And if an elector's vote is not to be counted for one of the two principal candidates, he might as well stay at home.

THE LAND PROBLEM

BY

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COLLATERAL READINGS SUGGESTED:

Carey's Principles of Social Science, and Past, Present, and Future; Walker's Land and its Rent; Gunton's Wealth and Progress; Kinnear's Principles of Property in Land; Spencer's Justice; Tylor's Primitive Culture; Lubbock's Origin of Civilization; Maine's Early History of Institutions, and Village Communities; Seebohm's The English Village Community; Laveleye's Primitive Property; George's Progress and Poverty, and The Land Problem; Patten's Malthus and Ricardo; Wallace's Land Nationalization; Phillips's Land, Labor, and Law; Davis's *Why the Farmer is not Prosperous*, *When the Farmer will be Prosperous*, *Exhaustion of Arable Lands*, and *Probabilities of Agriculture*, in Forum, April, May, June, and November, 1890. Fustel de Coulanges's The Origin of Property in Land.

THE LAND PROBLEM.

By Prof. Otis T. Mason, Ph. D.

The land question is a problem involving at this stage of the world's progress many unknown quantities, to the solution or satisfaction of which the acutest minds have devoted their best thoughts. It was a very simple problem at the beginning of human history, as we shall see; but it will never be a very simple problem again. On the contrary, as the years go by it will become only the more complex. Upon many of its factors, you will agree, too much effort has been bestowed. To offer an original idea upon these is scarcely possible. Daily journals, periodicals, transactions of societies, blue-books, national records, reports of commissions and of bureaus, are the repositories of an illimitable literature upon the separate parts of the structure in its finished and highly complex condition.

In ordinary parlance, the land is that part of the earth's surface which Lord Byron has characterized mankind as marking with ruin. In all of our school-books we learned that the surface or skin of the earth is divided into land and water, giving the latter the lion's share.

But when men discuss the land question and seek to legislate about it, they accept no such boundaries for the term, but persistently give to it a wider inclusion and lay their maps and charts and deeds over the entire surface of the globe, its waters as well as its lands. They sink their shafts thousands of feet down into its strata, dredge the bottom of the seas, pierce the air with shafts and chimneys, discharging their grimy sewage into the very fountain of life, and by many selfish devices veil the face of the sun from millions of their fellow-creatures. We may therefore proceed to accept their practical interpretation of the term land, and ask what all these things have to say of the past, and what their plans may be for the future welfare or misery of humanity. If possible, we may withhold our gaze altogether from the present legal and political elements of the problem—the adult stage—and regard the testimony of the earth itself much in the spirit of the archæologist or the

palæontologist. Surely, if the earth has witnessed a great series of economic and industrial phenomena, it has some marks thereof left upon itself, and is now receiving some impressions therefrom. These we may study one by one with profit, just as our scientific friends, legislators, and business men draw their wisdom from the experiences of others and from the past.

In this inquiry, the land or the earth as modified by and modifying human life—its thoughts, its industries, its arts, its speech, its customs, its societies, its laws, its beliefs, its cults—includes the land surface down to the bottom of the deepest possible mine or artesian well; all the aqueous mass, that is, every drop of water in the seas and out of them, for there is no telling when any drop may enter the circle of human agencies and ownerships; the circumambient air, every gallon of that aërial ocean which swathes the world and vitalizes all living things, the common carrier of clouds and birds, of health and disease, of music and perfumes, of industry and commerce. As modifying and modified by human conduct, as subject of preëmption and monopoly, not only the masses just mentioned are included, but motions and powers, even gravity, mechanical properties, physical forces, chemical activities, vital phenomena of plants and animals, may all be covered by patents, and their uses become a matter of legislation. I had almost said men themselves and women, when I remember how like things and chattels they frequently are, and how their motions and thoughts are at the command of other fellow-beings.

These constitute the earth, the land of my definition, together with such sunlight and moonlight and starlight and cosmic forces as our race may subdue and preëmpt. Some of these things are still beyond our caveats and prescriptions; they are still untrammeled, and with these at this time we have naught to do. There is no patent on them; each human being has unlimited access thereto.

From one point of view, the earth appears to us as a reservoir, a store-house, a larder. Emerson tells us that "there is nothing great but the inexhaustible wealth of Nature." It is possible, however, in the examination of this store-house, to find out that many articles in the account of stock are extremely rare and high-priced. Many of them may be wasted irrecoverably, many of them are capable of recuperation, many of them are susceptible of irremediable contamination and deterioration. This subject is not a matter

for poets, but for business men. The race are the owners of the earth, which is all they have. It is their heritage. Each piece of property in the manifest has values, and these values are in their keeping. The thin layer of arable land is one of these.

You are well aware that in our day the land-battle is waged quite unequally over the things and forces that I have described. The contest is chiefly over what Mr. McGee has expressively characterized as the thin veneering of soil upon which so much human industry is expended. This is one item and a very valuable one, but not more so than some others, the facility of which for waste, the difficulties of which of recuperation, the possibilities of which, are greater still.

"The chief wealth of the world comes from the soil. Some food is gathered in the waters, materials for shelter and apparatus are yielded by quarries and mines, fuels and illuminants are from the earth, but the materials of food and fabrics are from the soil. The sustenance of man and his beast friends of the remotest kind, the productions of the forests, all fibers and nutritive plants, even the stuffs of skin, wool, fur, hair, silk, are derived from the land. The manipulation and commerce of all these depend on wind and water and coal and metals, but the most precious of all resources is that extremely thin cover of arable soil that is so easily dissipated and so hardly recuperated."* A similar panegyric and caution could be framed for the other resources of the earth.

Now, let us take another point of view, a more advantageous situation for comprehending the earth truly. All the items named in my definitions are not so many articles in a variety store or in a wholesale jobbing establishment. The material earth, the waters, the atmosphere, the forces and activities of Nature, are a complex unit, like a machine, "a great factory or shop of power, with its rotating times and tides."† Each wheel has reference to every other wheel, each part to every other part. So that as history has progressed, men have come to know that in their adjustments of the things to be done in one direction they must study the bearings of this change upon the whole mass. The geographers of our childhood—Humboldt, Rit-

* McGee. Mississippi Old Fields, A. A. A. S., Washington, 1891.
† Emerson. Letters and Social Aims. Boston, 1883, Houghton, Mifflin & Co., p. 135.

ter, Guyot—never tired in speaking of the earth as a whole, systematically constructed of many related parts, a cosmos, a very complex unit, whose land and water areas and configurations, whose elevations and depressions, whose fertile and arid lands, whose arctic and temperate zones, whose animal, vegetal, and mineral resources, whose enfolding atmosphere, are almost indispensable to one another. A great change in one of these in the past history of the globe has materially influenced the others more or less, and often transfigured the whole face of Nature. These changes may come about from secular causes, but they may also be wrought by the hand of man. The miner ruins the land for the farmer, the forester disturbs the relations of plant and animal life, the manufacturer contaminates the waters for the fisherman, the careless filling of a harbor impoverishes a whole State, the disturbance of insect or bird life destroys millions of wealth, the exhaustion of the soil depopulates vast regions.

"The first tide of settlement entered Louisiana and Mississippi from the South, and its influence was practically confined to the lowlands. The first upland population, whose implements were the rifle and the hunting-knife, lived the savage life of the Indian. The men of the second generation subsisted on the products of the soil and of the chase. In the third generation the slave-holder not only subsisted on but exported the products of the soil. The civil war impoverished the farmer, liberated his slaves, and cultivated acres were abandoned by thousands. The hills were attacked by the rains and fertile fields were invaded by gullies, until the soil of a thousand years' savings melted into the streams, and fair acres became bad-lands. Over thousands of square miles the traveler is never out of sight of glaring sand-wastes where once were fertile fields. It is within the truth to estimate that ten per cent of the western uplands of Mississippi have been ruined to agriculture. No one can traverse the territory so terribly invaded without feeling that the State loses each year in value of real estate more than she gains from all sources.

"Furthermore, this erosion is carried into the valleys to overwhelm bridges, invade roadways, convert fertile lowlands into treacherous quicksands or blistering deserts. Not only is the humus carried away, but the veneer of brown loam is also removed, leaving only inferior soil stuff. The destruction is irremediable by human craft; the fertile loam

once removed can never be restored. The creation of forest-clad hills and prairie in the prehuman period established a stable equilibrium which is rudely broken when cultivation on a large scale is attempted." *

I think we may take a still more exalted view of the earth, looking upon it not only as a pile of available resources, or even as an orderly arranged mass; but, from the point of view of the botanist, the zoölogist, the anthropologist, the evolutionist, we may almost regard it as an organized collection of parts, having had a germinal period, periods of transformation and fructification—in short, its ontogeny or individual evolution. We are not dealing with a homogeneous mass when we talk of dividing it up or of appropriating portions of it. Nor is it sufficient merely to scrutinize it as an orderly cosmos when we proceed to legislate about it. These are well and they are necessary, but a more exalted idea still is demanded on the part of those who bring the earth into the arena of political philosophy.

Whatever our theory of its origin, the earth may be discussed as a living, thinking being, capable of teaching cause and effect, of rewarding the wise and of punishing the unwise, capable of barbarizing and being barbarized, of civilizing and of being civilized.† And this discussion is regardless of our theory of its origin. If we are creationists, then we have only to transfer the personality to the ever-present Creator whose servant the earth is. If we are theistic evolutionists, then we conceive that this ever-present Intelligence has manifested Himself in the earth as its vivifying, organizing force. If we are agnostic evolutionists, then we regard the power as residing in Nature itself to confer these ethical qualities and prerogatives, though we know Him not. If we are atheistic evolutionists, the earth is only the more exalted in our thoughts and endowed with absolute power. With some of the older thinkers we may believe in a soul of the world, the *Welt-geist*. Then, when we compass the results that have been achieved, we are still in a reverential mood before a being of such cleverness and power.

In any event, and we need to dwell upon the subject no longer, the highest conceptions of the earth or land ques-

* McGee. On the Mississippi Old Fields, A. A. A. S., 1891.

† I have been a thousand times interested to notice how often in the Old Testament the earth is referred to as the delegated agent of God, with plenary powers, to bring forth living things (Gen. i, 11); as making covenants (ib. ix, 13); as devouring men (in many references); as executing judgment (Job, xx, 27); as enriching (Ps. lxvii; Ezek. xxxiv, 27), etc. Consult any concordance under the word "earth" or its synonyms.

tion demand the recognition of order and consequences, of largess and property, of bounty and retribution, of disease and recuperation. We are in presence of a something, no matter what, that has come to be what it is, has grown; that can be sick and recover or make sick and cause to recover; that can measure out justice and call the guilty to account. No earthly government has ever had such a consistent legislature, such incorruptible judges, such a powerful and effective executive, with its ever vigilant police and executioners, or such a bountiful treasury for the reward of the good.*

Now, nearly all of the books that I have read view the subject as a question of immediate results and expedients; but a few writers take it up from the side of the earth, as a something that has had a long evolution and that has never been unmindful altogether of human history. It is far more easy to find a paper devoted to some immediate pain or wound of society associated with the ownership of the soil than to find one discussing the claims of the earth on us drawn from a study of the correlations of earth and man through all the ages. So far as the earth has acted, as transformed and transforming, it opens a vast anthropological study. Do you believe that the digging-stick and the digger had any mutual duties in savagery? That each could improve and be improved by the other, until at last the one becomes the steam plow and the other lord of many thousand acres? Do you think that the first savage who carried a burden had any moral and prudential relations to his burden strap? So that each could help and improve, could be helped and improved by the other, blessing and blessed, until one became the great burden-train the other a railroad magnate? Once more, for the illustrations have no limit, the desolate creature who millenniums ago conjured the Promethean spark from two dried sticks, was he not interested in every way to improve his fire-sticks, and was he not *pari passu* improved through them, until by and by he could dispense with the moon and stars by night, the sun by day, and could convert the light of his torch into the motion of his wheels?

* Assuming this point of view, the Ethical Society is an institution for inquiring into duties, founded on law, obedience to which may or not make us happy. We must obey, to live. If we disobey, we die. And this is just as true of societies and nations as of men. The one saving clause, which in the struggle for resistance has given our race such preponderating momentum, is the fact that in the vast majority of cases obedience is followed by pleasure.

Now, all human inventions whatsoever, the conversion of all earthly materials into means of existence and happiness, have passed into their anthropological stage. The first projectile was a rude stone thrown from the hand of a savage, the last is more complex than the human frame, requiring hundreds of trained workmen many months to prepare it for its momentary errand of destruction. If these separate pieces of mechanism for many hundreds of years have been associated with men as mutual friends, helping and helped, blessing and being blessed, the relations of one to the other becoming more and more complex, there is no escaping the conclusion that the earth itself, the land out of which the material came, over which it was invented to travel, for whose further research and upturning many of them were devised, has stood in a similar but more intense relation. The earth has helped and has been helped, improved and been improved, rejoiced and given joy.

Again, it is all-important to bear in mind that only a small part of this world's largess lies on the surface. Its endowments are promises and potentialities, not free gifts. "The world is all gates, all opportunities, strings of tension ready to be struck." * At the dawn of humanity there were only two or three favored spots on all this globe equipped to keep alive our race for a single generation. The north was too cold, the equator was too hot; this region too dry, that too wet; this too poor, that too rich. Here were noxious and venomous creatures, there the deadly miasma.

Not only was standing room limited, but natural grains and fruits were at their poorest. The beasts of the field, the fowls of the air, as natural resources, were at their worst, and could be procured only at the greatest expenditure of time and energy, and transported only on the backs of men and women. The possibilities hidden away even under unfavorable locations to our progenitors we are just beginning to guess. There were materials and advantages spread on the surface just abundant enough to keep man alive, and just concealed enough to whet his appetite. The cosmos appears to us in the light of a wise provider, who gives to him that earns, discloses to him that searches, rewards and crowns him that wins. As a magazine, the earth is to be explored and its amounts and locations of resources and forces conned. As a machine, the power and relation of

* Emerson, *op. cit.*, 133.

parts are to be closely studied. As a teacher and a moral force, its laws must be searched out and its purposes known, its punishments understood, and its promises appreciated.

Again, to revert to the appliances of culture. All the peoples of the earth have not advanced equally in the matter of bettering their opportunities. Along the march of history, whole tribes, nations, races, have ceased to improve their apparatus—they have made them worse from year to year. And these had their revenge. They have made their owners more miserable in return. If poor farmers build wretched barns and fences, these are not slow in making farmers poor and wretched. If the carpenter works with dull tools, then will his patronage be dull. If the smith hammers cold iron, he will soon have to eat a cold dinner for his neglect. So the rule holds good both ways. The appliances of life are degraded and degrade; are impoverished and made poor, are wasted and their owners starve.

In a remarkable lecture by President Gilman on maps and history he declares with great emphasis that the true relation of the earth to civilization and politics and *vice versa* will be understood and studied with pleasure only when we have better maps. By this he means that in the past the earth has been the marshaler of nations, has spread out homogeneous stocks over the great plains of the continents, has packed the mountain valleys with kindreds and tongues and nations, has opened easy highways between some and separated others by deserts and oceans, has led the ambitious and vigorous into fertile and productive areas, and packed the feebler races into the suburbs of the world. A well-trained student in geography and geology may almost write the human history of a land whose people he has never seen. Mark how many times the map of Europe has been changed in the historic period since the "earth-spirit" drew the natural boundaries. Only once in an age do mountains rise and new rivers run. This is a serious event, and is coupled with the extinction of myriads of genera of living things and the recreation of the face of Nature. Less than centuries are sufficient to efface political boundaries. Forms of government do not appear so stable as personal and family occupation. Nations come and go; but any student of ethnology knows that, more now than ever, mankind are following these great leading strings of progress set by the earth itself.

In relation to these resources, this cosmos, this organized

something, our race has passed through a series of epochs quite similar to those into which plant and animal life have been divided. For convenience we may say there have been eight such periods. Each period is marked by certain characteristic phenomena, and, after the first or second, each period not only takes on new characteristics, but retains, in a more or less modified condition, those of all the preceding periods. The plant life of to-day is a comprehensive series of all the plant life of the globe from the beginning. The animal life of all palæontologic time is studied in the light of creatures now living on the earth. I mean, therefore, that the land problem, or the question of legislating about the earth, involves the study of every question that has arisen in the ages regarding this same subject. Its true solution sets the value of all the comprehensive interests of the world's societies.*

In the first period man was absent; he was present only as a promise. It was a time of earth-building, and, if you will not admit that preparation was being made specially for him, all the materials out of which he would ever build his nest, clothe and feed himself, develop his industries and fine arts and find exercise and expression for his activities and thoughts, were here. So far as our present needs go, the surface of our planet had come to a tolerably stable equilibrium. And if great changes took place, they were not so much due to intelligent animals as to minute organisms and physical forces. All of those agencies through which men have since modified the earth were in existence, but their activities were uniform.

In the second period, the first in the history of humanity, the earth movements continued, and to these were added the modifications produced by a being in the rude stone age, who lived in caves and under shelters, who took from the bounty of the air, the land, and the waters what his daily cravings demanded, who thought that all things were alive like himself, whose marriage was a slender bond, and whose family life was little above that of the brute. His conduct was entirely based on the interests of the hour, and for the earth he had no special thought in the lines here marked out. Little change was made on the earth by him. He sat on Nature's lap, and ate the food that she dropped into his mouth.

* Compare Spencer's Atlases of Sociology, Morgan's Ancient Society, Mason's What is Anthropology? for an elaboration of the periods of civilization and their accompanying conducts on the part of man.

In the third period much of the earth remained as at first. In a few areas primitive peoples continued without progress, but in the most favored spots our race discovered fire—the Promethean spark. Blessed and fatal gift! With fire came a long train of blessings; the light of heaven was let in upon the dwelling; discouraging forests and jungles, with their malaria, noxious insects, venomous serpents, and ravening beasts, were subdued or removed. Arts sprang up, better houses were built, more convenient tools were invented, a little navigation ventured upon the waters. Social life was modified in its marriage, family, government, and customs. But chief of all, for our argument, man attacked the resources of earth with firebrands.* Climate was modified a little, and the battle began to be earnest.

In the fourth period there remained unknown lands, primitive tribes, fire-using peoples like the Australians; but in a more favored spot was invented the bow, first of that long series of devices which conquer distance and time and brute force. As a matter of course, other arts improved as well; but the special thought in mind now is the on-going of that battle, in the progress of which men attacked the treasures of the earth and began to modify it. In the chase and in war the feathered messenger of death plucks its victories from the air, the earth, and the sea. Animal life is now to be profoundly modified until all brute creatures shall be extinguished or subdued. The evolution of morals and skill kept pace with these epoch-making inventions, and we may almost hear the first expression of tender compassion in the twanging of the bowstring that gave a man more of the most wholesome food than he could devour.

In the fifth period, while the other characteristics continued, a new art sprang up—a very little art, but the germ of mighty industries. Man became an explorer into the earth. He scratched its surface here and there, to plant a seed or to dig some nutritious root; he quarried clay for pottery, stone for his implements and ornaments, and copper and galena for his rude industries. The possibility of having a week's provision with him, of landing and cooking it anywhere, of being somewhat independent of Nature's daily supply, set in motion a long train of useful arts.

* There is a system of cultivation used in India to-day, especially on the eastern frontier of Bengal, in which a tract of forest land is cleared by fire, cultivated for a year or two, and then abandoned for a new tract. In southwestern India it is called *Coomry*, and in Ceylon it is known as *Chena*. (Yule & Burnell, quoted in Cent. Dict.)

For our purpose, however, it is enough that he began to tear up the earth and to use up her mineral resources. Art, music, thought, religion, and morality moved upward with the new treatment of the earth.

In the sixth period animals were domesticated; the horse, ass, camel, ox, sheep, goat, dog, llama, poultry, were extensively used. Cyclopean walls were built. Engineering was begun. Canals, roads, causeways, and bridges were planned. The winds, the waters, the mechanical powers were yoked. Almost all of our peaceful industries were in vogue as handicrafts. Language progressed to the written stage, and a symbolic record at least was known. The priestly caste was differentiated, a pantheon set up. Monogamy was elaborated, father-right prevailed, and personal property was recognized. The smelting of bronze was the most marked characteristic, since it added the search for precious metals, which scarifies the ground, turns the neighborhood into a desert, and then removes the fickle population, whose desire was not to find a home, but suddenly to enrich themselves.

The seventh period is still in flourishing existence over the best parts of Asia, in northern Africa, in eastern Europe, and in much of Latin America. Its glory reached its climax in the great empires about the beginning of the Christian era and in the splendor of the Middle Ages. The patriarchal family was more or less established, with polygamous marriage. The arts were still largely handicrafts. Transportation was over the water and by beasts of burden. Machinery was in its infancy, the race was as busy as now, but space and time and resistance were slowly overcome. Great improvement was made in government and the art of war, depending on the increased production of supplies by artificial means. Nations and national boundaries were established It was the iron age.

And now we are in the eighth period, with mariner's compass, printing press, gunpowder, but pre-eminently with coal. It is the age of machinery and all that this implies. We are in the carbon age. All the wealth, all the learning, all the experience, all the crime of the past are upon us. The Andamanese, the Australian, the roving savages, the sedentary barbarians, the semi-civilized, the civilized after old standards—all survive even in Brooklyn, and the age of coal has touched only a small share of our race. The progress of life has noted the evolution of morals as the indi-

vidual has acquired the means of dispensing freely a portion of his gain to bless his fellow. The disposition of the earth and rules of the earth's conduct are becoming more familiar.

In all of these periods there existed five sets of phenomena that our enquiry commands us to observe carefully: Land tenure; land waste; land recuperation; land evolution * (elaboration of the earth's crude resources); land ethics.

In the first period, man being absent, land tenure was the struggle for existence and the survival of the best fitted to survive. Waste was geological, recuperation the work of minute organisms, evolution was vegetal, and animal progress and conduct were "doing the best for self-preservation." It is interesting to note how many of our intellectual activities, feelings, wishings, choosings—in short, how much of our conduct—was foreshadowed in this period by our animal predecessors.

In the second period, the first of humanity, there was probably but one area of occupation, where men huddled for self-protection and the tenure was absolutely commercial. Waste was increased only by the omnivorous habit of man; he did nothing consciously to recuperate the earth and was ignorant of its wonderful capabilities under domestication. The most marked ethical improvement was the altruism engendered by the prolongation of helpless infancy.

In the third period, land tenure was of the horde, and tribal boundaries were natural boundaries. Each man had unlimited access to the tribal territory, in the air, the water, the land. The question of disputed boundaries was settled by personal or clan encounter. The utmost prodigality prevailed. No thought of recuperating wasted resources existed, and as yet the possibilities of becoming, lying dormant in the air and land and sea, were undreamed of. On

* I should explain more fully what is intended by this phrase, land evolution. Every one must have noticed the difference between a lump of ore and a cambric needle, a wild grape and a garden grape, a wolf and a pointer dog. Now, all power of coming to be the latter in each case existed in the former. From one point of view it seems like the simple letting loose of native characteristics, giving opportunity to a progressive spirit in Nature. The one becomes the other by personal unfoldings. That would be *evolution*. From another point of view it is the inventive, creative genius of man that transforms in each case, and the latter is not *evolved*, but *elaborated*, from the former. In both cases, however, it is in Nature's shop or garden or zoötechnic establishment, in the path of Nature's lines of action, that the results are achieved. Now, all that man has done to coax or compel Nature into these new revelations of herself, to cultivate and perfect and renew her, is land *evolution* or *elaboration*.

the contrary, whole regions deprived of fruit and game by remorseless fires were abandoned to Nature.

To morality this was added: clan marriage prevailed in the tribes, so that to every individual thought worthy to survive, possessing a clan standing, support and defense were assured. This assurance of daily supply must have added greatly to longevity. A sort of forced respect for the earth had for its reward an increased momentum of human life.

In the fourth period, the ownership of land, still respecting natural boundaries, began to assume a more artificial form by reason of improvements in the apparatus of war. The possession of the bow enabled the advanced tribes to draw their lines about the game animals, the bird resorts, the fishing grounds. To mountains and impassable waters were added other fences. Waste was more rapid, owing to the increased means of gratifying new desires. Mammals and birds and fishes were slain in sport, and often only the dainty parts consumed. The dog became a domestic animal and a few other creatures disclosed the secret of Nature's capabilities of education. No effort at recuperation was needed and none was made. Man's attitude toward his fellows was beginning to be just, and blood or clan revenge and kindness to brutes were the contributions of the age to morality.

The age of pottery and of polished stone, of agriculture as well, brought sedentary life and a brand-new style of ownership—clan right of tenure. The tribal territory was fixed somewhat. The clan portion for culture was marked off and the patch or portion which each little group might occupy was settled temporarily. There being no international law, all this was in a state of flux. The waste of exhausting fertile fields, abandoning them and then skimming others, began, and I am told that some of our New England tribes actually put fish around their corn hills to manure them. This, so far as I know, is the first attempt to pay back to Nature a matter of rent. In Peru and other lands of this grade, breeds of dogs and other domestic animals show that the people had been told some of Nature's dormant resources. I can not find, however, that any people of this culture-status had dreamed of the time when their natural supply would disappear altogether. The ethical contribution of this period was the introduction of forms of justice, civil processes, personal rights, somewhat of the safety and importance of the citizen.

The sixth age and the doctrine of divine sanction developed a new element of tenure, well set forth in the early books of the Bible. Before that, trespass was of man alone. But in this time domestication of animals became the leading industry, and the earth must now be carved and staked off differently. "Let there be no strife between my herdsmen and thy herdsmen" was the key-note of a land survey which had for its objective point a well or a spring. The pockets of natural resources were the centers around which the circle was drawn. No grass seems to have been sown, but the greatest varieties of stock were raised and every industry of the world was stimulated. The mining and smelting of bronze also introduced waste without recuperation, by a mighty stimulus to inventive genius. The most beneficent result of this age was the improvement of morals. Over and over again the tribes or clans of herders have been kept from bloody wars by realizing that war would be the end of all their wealth. So they paid tribute and tithes and taxes, and stayed at home. They invented fortified corrals and entered into treaties with other nomads, and established pueblos and walled villages that were the protection of the joint commune.

The seventh period is the iron age of history, lasting three thousand years at least of time. It is also the age of feudalism, the age of reckless waste, the age of ruins. Over the areas of this period Volney cast his eye when he said: "I will go and dwell amid the ruins of cities: I will inquire of the monuments of antiquity what was the wisdom of the former ages."* And yet in this period the fertile lands of the Eastern continent were disclosed, and in its last century the whole world was given to the human race. Artificial propagation of birds, of land animals, of plants, especially the cereals, began so early that we do not know the natural sources of most of them; even pisciculture was common in China and Japan, and irrigation was better understood than it is now. Land recuperation also was practiced, and in China systematically carried on so well that we may take lessons therefrom. In ethics, at the beginning of this epoch, the groundwork of conduct was established in the widespread publication of the Golden Rule. Confucius, Buddha, Zoroaster, Christ, the philosophers of the Western nations, had breathed upon them or into them this benign lesson. To do unto others as one would have

* Ruins, etc., Philadelphia, 1799, Lyon.

them to do unto him was the pearl in the crown of this period.

In our day, the eighth period, the age of coal, the age of domestication, the tenure of the earth is no longer feudal, but individual or technic. If every man has not his vine and fig tree, at least every vine and fig tree has its owner or owners. The earth has undergone a political, national, social, and individual gerrymandering to adjust it to the new carbon-wasting period, the age of machinery. The waste of the nineteenth century has equaled that of all other centuries. The census reports the value of minerals consumed in the United States in 1890 at $600,000,000 (David T. Day). The waste of forests and consequent disturbance of other natural phenomena has called for legislation in every civilized state. Practically, our waters have been cleared of their natural supply of fishes, and game is almost a thing of the past.

The air is no longer in our cities a mixture of oxygen and nitrogen, but a sewer into which is poured the waste of industries. Our old fields in the South turn more fertility into the rivers than the whole production amounts to. The disturbance of the equilibrium of insect life has depopulated vast areas and more than once presaged famine. The filling up of rivers and harbors has made the borders of these streams uninhabitable by reason of malaria, and silted up their mouths so that already we have hundreds of ruined towns within the borders of this youngest nation, and at least one State—Nevada. The waste of the soil has been accompanied by the disappearance of scarce and precious materials that have, for example, moved the wheat-belt from New York to the State of Washington.

At the same time the recuperation and evolution of new sources of supply have gone faster, and we do not care for wild harvest-fields. For the first time in history our century has been asking the earth, What wilt thou have me to do? and what is the best that thou canst do? In the use of drainage and terracing, of transplanting and selecting out weak plants, of utilizing manures and sewage and other waste, of saving the sun-heat by glass and fermentation, of artificial heat, of irrigation, we have been able to obtain from six to ten crops a year from the soil. "In the hands of men there are no infertile soils. The most productive soils are not in the prairies of America, nor in the Russian steppes; they are in the peat bogs of Ireland, on the sand

downs of the northern coast, on the craggy mountains of the Rhine, where they have been made by man's hands." *

In this good work of elaborating and recuperating the earth we still have found no way to bring back the coal and metals we are wasting at such a fearful rate; but the precious nitrogen may be economized and restored by using less meat and calling in more of the product of the sea. The chemical processes by which potash and nitrogen may be got in available form for plant life are now being involved to produce by synthesis our most desirable food elements, without the long process of vegetation. By legislation the contamination of the atmosphere is restricted and poisoning of waters prevented. Immense sums of money are by government expended in experiment stations for the purpose of getting the most product for the least outlay, and of controlling insect life for the good of man. This is a kind of co-operative altruism in which all are taxed for the benefit of the land-worker.

Now, what will this period add to the ethics of the land problem, and thereby to the advancement of society? What ought it to do for tenure, for waste, for recuperation, for elaboration, for conduct?

1. It should profit by all the past, borrow its excellences, but not return to it. I therefore modestly suggest that communism and all other forms of the clan system in legislation concerning the relationship of society to the globe are retrogression.

2. Forms of tenure are really not so important as modes of treatment. That form of tenure which leads men to prevent waste, to repair past damage, to domesticate and develop Nature's resources, to cherish benevolent feelings and a profound interest in posterity through the land, is best. But I am trying to enforce the idea that, after all, the earth is the landlord and that we are the tenants.

3. The capacity of the earth is ample, and its resources abundant for all time, if she be interrogated in a true spirit. More instruction and a refinement of conscience will point the way.

4. It can glorify and magnify the Golden Rule by the scientific study of what we ought to desire others to do for and unto us and unto themselves, and unto this royal heritage. Then it can magnify the doing unto others. The

* Prince Krapotkin, quoted by A. D. Atwater, Cent. Mag., Nov., 1891, 105 and elsewhere.

golden rule, the highest altruism, will be doing the very best to others that can be done, or that with all possible light others could dream of doing for our highest and noblest good. The life and death of the founder of Christianity taught mankind that our own highest happiness lies in this most exalted consecration to others. "Love and serve," on the monument of Shaftesbury, "more sweetness and more light," on the lips of Matthew Arnold, are our watchwords. The Golden Rule has had and will have its own evolution.

In reply to one question propounded by your committee—"How can the capacity of the land for production be maintained in correspondence with the increase of population?"—the answer is easy after what has been said. By the improvement of land ethics, by the bettering of conduct toward the earth, by domesticating the powers of Nature. If the question were propounded to any young clerk in Brooklyn: How do you expect to rise in your employer's favor? he would reply: By studying how to make him richer and more able to raise my salary. The capacity of amassing fortunes through the fidelity of employés is no more unlimited than the capacity of the earth to develop new resources of human happiness.

Relation of Classes of Society to the Land.

It is not the farmer alone who is profoundly interested in the treatment of the earth, the air, and the waters. Every man, woman, and child is interested, for the sake of knowledge, for the sake of health and long life, for our own sake, for the sake of every human being present and to come. As all parts of the earth are united, as all human society has its international laws, so men are all bound to the earth, and no man can defile or waste it without striking every other man that shall ever stand upon it.

The Question of Public and Private Ownership.

In the lowest savagery land ownership is communal, in barbarism it is feudal, in civilization it is individual. Ethically, that system is right which encourages and effects the least waste, the greatest recuperation, and the most successful familiarity with and control over Nature's concealed possibilities. As I have said, forms of tenure are not so

important as mode of treatment. If men are worthy to enjoy individual tenure they should have it. It is the highest good. When they abuse it they get in debt to the rich, who reduce them to feudalism; and if the rich should move away, a kind of clan system or communism would ensue.

Taxation of Land Values.

In the first period the percentage of taxation was highest; in our eighth period it is lowest. The form of law that does not decrease the amount of taxation proportionally to the yield per acre is not in the line of progress; therefore the true principle of the taxation of land will lie in the way of reward; as the productive value of the land is increased, the rate of taxation will be decreased. I am speaking now of intrinsic values. Extrinsic values, created by the public, belong to the public and they may tax them as they will. But any law that punishes a man with taxation for preventing waste, recuperating worn acres or developing the latent resources of Nature, is wicked.

The Land Worker compared with other Workers.

Every tool and industry and implement of man has had its evolution. The wood worker, the metal worker, the navigator, the land tiller, has had his inventive genius taxed to the utmost, and so you behold one with stone saw or planing mill, another with stone hammer or trip hammer, a third with "bull boat" or ocean steamer, the fourth with bone hoe or steam plow. True ethics demands for the one what we give to the other—reward to the progressive, starvation to the retrogressive. If we never think of legislating to persuade men to prefer the old spindle to the spinning jenny, there ought to be no help for the man who looks back to the good old days of the digging stick and the land wasting.

Relative Earnings and Hours.

In agriculture, as in all industries, work or momentum is equal to time multiplied by rate and weight or units of power. The farmer who insists on following cow-paths with public roads and in doing all his work regardless of velocity, must expect to find himself often on the road

after dark. 'In savagery a moon, in barbarism a day, in the iron age an hour, in the age of coal a minute, is the unit of time. Those who work to the minute have short days; those who do not care for an hour will continue to work long days. It is not legislation that such people need, but education and moral teaching.

Tariff, in this view, paid on foreign luxuries by the consumer for the support of the Government, is an easy way to raise revenues and does not interfere with the ends here laid down. Tariff for the encouragement of an industry is an experiment or a patent and should be limited in time. If it bring honest people and skill and consumers and diversified industries to our doors, then the experiment has succeeded; if it impoverish the whole merely to create a monopoly, then it belongs to the middle ages and should be abandoned.

The Outlook.

Consider for one moment the first human family as they stood millenniums ago in front of their cave-dwelling, without clothing or furniture of any kind; chips of stone and fragments of bone or horn or wood were their only appliances. They were without experience. The simplest tools—such as hammers, saws, gimlets, planes, adzes—were unknown to them. No one had dreamed of the mechanical powers, except the inclined plane. The wedge, the roller, the wheel, the wheel and axle, the pulley and the screw, were far, far in the future. No commerce existed but the simplest barter, and all transportation was on human beasts of burden. This naked creature seemed also poorly provided physically for the common struggle. Without a hairy covering, having feeble jaws and nails, his agility in climbing lost without corresponding addition of fleetness of foot, he will, apparently, be outwitted and devoured in the next generation by the combination of his enemies.

But when we consider that this same creature has at last come to master the whole earth by exploration and by acquaintance with its laws and activities, has acquainted himself with the weight and motion and composition of the heavenly bodies, has projected his imagination into systems beyond all these and out of sight, dreams of infinite time and space and motion and creates conditions of things in his fancy that can have no possible existence in fact, and finally expects for himself an unlimited existence in a spir-

itual sphere transcending all that his present life can experience or hope for, we are prepared to believe that the chances for his success must have immensely outweighed those for his destruction. No other creature has so progressed; the whole animal kingdom has not traveled so far upward from the nomad to the anthropoid.

Now, if all this splendid progress was made under the old feral system of bad tenure, waste, absence of recuperation, and little elaboration of latent resources, what do you think will be the pace under the new *régime* of culture and higher ethic? The earth is no longer able to support its human population as grazers, as hunters, as fishers, as nomads. But the ingenious mind of man will devote its energies henceforth to the new culture, and literally make the desert blossom like the rose.*

* In the preparation of this paper I have consulted men rather than books. I shall always have a filial affection for Marsh's Man and Nature; Guyot's Earth and Man; Ritter's geographic publications; Maury's Physical Geography of the Sea; Humboldt's Kosmos; Klemm's Culturgeschichte des Menschen, and a few others of the older anthropogeographers. My present obligation is here expressed to Dr David T. Day, of the Census Office, for information concerning the output and waste of coal and metals; to Prof. F. W. Clarke, of the United States Geological Survey, for assistance in the study of man's share in the irremediable dissipation of physical and chemical energy; to Prof. Wiley, of the Department of Agriculture, for the outlook along the line of recuperating the precious elements of plant production in the worn-out lands; to Prof. Fernow, of the same Department, for accurate knowledge concerning the forestry problem as it now stands; to Colonel Marshall McDonald, Commissioner of Fish and Fisheries, for information concerning the destruction of the natural fish supply and the immense advantage gained by saving our waste over the vast pasture lands of coastal waters; to Prof. Cleveland Abbe and the Weather Bureau for help in studying the nature of atmospheric contamination and the line of its true remedies; to Prof. W J McGee, of the United States Geological Survey, for permission to examine and quote from his unpublished manuscript concerning the Southern Old Fields; to Prof. C. V. Riley, for many conversations respecting the myriad relationships existing between human happiness or misery and the insect world; to the Coast Survey and Hydrographic Office for the privilege of examining their series of charts with reference to the silting up of harbors; to Prof. G. L. Goodale, whose studies on the useful plants of the future are exactly in the line of the present paper. (American Journal of Science, vol. xlii, October, 1891.) I have been much interested also in a work by Colonel C. C. Jones, entitled The Lost Towns of Georgia, and various statements in current literature about the decline of agriculture in many of our older States.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISCUSSION.

MR. JAMES A. SKILTON:

While we are laying foundations, beginning work in our field somewhat on the lines of the Smithsonian Institution and waiting for our Smithson to appear, it is a pleasant coincidence that we have with us and helping us one of the prominent workers in connection with that institution.

Prof. Mason has, no doubt intentionally, left open for further discussion the economic and political implications and applications of the land problem, to which it is our plan for this season to pay special attention.

If it be true, as Tyndall says, that the promise and potency of every form and quality of life may be discerned in matter, then we may conclude that the promise and potency of a proper system of the conduct of life may also be discerned in matter, and probably was discernible, had a discerner been present, even in the nebular age. Consequently, coming down to our own time and the subject of the evening—land, whether in its narrow or in its broader definition—we may expect to find that there is at least the beginning of a system of morals integrated with matter and with the physical, chemical, and vital laws concerned in the action and use of land.

Borrowing the words of Dr. Janes in the Popular Science notice of Justice, recently published: "Mr. Spencer shows that we must seek for the germs of morality in the animal world. He even goes further, and shows that human morality is based upon laws which are as universal as life itself, and are active and potent in the development of all living things." To which I add that morality and justice are conditioned in and by the laws that were already at work at the time when life was mere potency and promise, and have therefore become framed into the very structure of the earth, and that in a very complete and important sense morality and justice are based upon laws which are as universal as the physical universe and to which biological principles and action are subordinate. If this be true, then human justice is not simply a development of "subhuman" justice, as limited to the biological field, but also of subanimal justice, including justice to and in land, the approximate source and store-house of all life materials and forces; which is the beginning of all right-eousness.

Indeed, a mere cursory glance at the history of nations arouses suspi-

cion that land requires not only that justice shall be done to it by man, but that it finds a way of punishing him if that justice be withheld.

The ancient boast was that all roads led to Rome; which meant, in part at least, that the land products of the then known world steadily moved toward Rome. The inevitable result of this movement was that eventually the outlying lands grew continually poorer and less able to produce, while the lands at the center of the movement—about Rome—became congested with the elements of fertility, the outlying lands approaching the condition of wilderness or desert, and Rome itself becoming imbedded in the pestilent Campagna. In the light of evolutionary science and philosophy, why need we to go further in search of the cause of the decline of Rome, the decay of civilization, the dark ages, and all the remainder of the terrible story? And why do we need further suggestion that injustice to land eventually caused or promoted the degradation of the intellect, the morals and the religion of Europe, and that we in America inherit our share of that degradation?

But the discovery of America brought new land into use, and in some very large sense the upward progress of civilization in all these directions since that event is attributable to the substitution of the new lands of the New World as the new source of supply in place of the worn-out lands of the Old World. The approaching close of the fourth century since that discovery would seem to make it a fit time for asking ourselves how we are treating these new lands? Are we repeating or permitting the policy of Rome, and slowly but surely earning the same result? Are we doing justice to the land? Are we maintaining its fertility by returning to it the elements of fertility, or are we robbing the land and preparing for the day when it will drive us or our successors out as Adam and Eve were driven from the Garden of Eden? Unquestionably, the general view is, that the land has no rights that any man is bound to respect. The crops it produces are sent far away to be used; little or no thought is taken or provision made for the return of the elements of food and other products of the land after they are used; no man realizes that what he properly purchases in the market is the mere *usufruct*, and that unless the elements of the once-used food are returned to the land, he is participating in a gigantic system of waste that would be actionable as such if practiced by his tenant upon his land.

Taking a larger view, we discover that the new age has a new Rome in London, to which all modern roads lead, whether on land or sea; where practically the price of the productions of the land of the whole earth are fixed, and in which are intrenched a nation, a commerce, a banking and an economic system, and all the paraphernalia for their

maintenance, which, taken together, are more effective than ever the legions of Rome could dream of being in directing the steady streams of products of the world toward one common center, and in bringing again upon the world the same dire consequences. Furthermore, we find at work everywhere the inventive energies of an inventive age, by steamship, railroad, and canal, by improved agricultural implements of all kinds, by telegraphic, telephonic, and improved postal means of communication with the whole world, and by the aid of machinery set in motion by steam and electricity, assisting so effectually that, whereas it took Rome centuries to do its destructive work, the world may now be once more looted in a few short decades. And Africa even having now fallen into the clutches of this globe octopus, we may well weep to learn that there are no more new worlds, not for our conquering, but for the resupply and relief of mankind, when all the accessible outlying lands have been reduced to wilderness or desert.

At this point I ask permission for a digression. There are those in this audience doubtless, perhaps members of the association, who have already answered what I have said as well as what I have yet to say, by the easy assumption that the elements thus taken from the soil will somehow be returned thereto through the air, on the wings of gases, and that in that way the circuit will be completed through which due conservation of energy will take place, and that the land, mankind, and civilization will not suffer. To such, and to those who think that a change of crops will do the business, that the "modern improvements" through which the sewage and waste of every house and of the streets of all the cities of the civilized world are constantly thrown into the river, and thence flow into the sea, never to return to the land until in some far-off geologic age the continent is again dipped in the sea, *are* improvements: and who think that conduits leading direct from this mass of filth and infection into their sleeping and sitting rooms are the perfection of modern science and engineering—to such it is pretty certain I have no message.

For those who, discussing the means of maintaining land fertility in parlors and clubs, suggest the change of crop theory, I have the suggestion to make that when they can show me a practical working scheme for keeping their bank accounts in a satisfactory condition by merely changing the color of their checks and without making deposits, then I shall be ready to consider schemes for maintaining the fertility of land by changing the kind of plant life by which the soil is each year drawn upon and exhausted.

But it is my purpose to bring the proposition that soil exhaustion means barbarization to the people and nation that permit it to the test of fact and history.

Time limitations compel me to confine my remarks in the main to an application of the principle I have laid down in the study of a phase of near-by American history.

About one hundred years ago selfishness, which had from the beginning largely governed the human and subhuman world, was reduced to at least the beginning of a science in the writings of Smith, Ricardo, and Malthus. Almost simultaneously the United States became a nation, the foundation principle of which was political freedom—if not the right of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, which later became disputed. For nearly one hundred years now we have had the application of the economic science of selfishness in the affairs of a people whose leading political principle was largely altruistic, and therefore the history of our country will furnish a favorable, or at least a not unfavorable, object lesson for the study of the effects of the application of that science.

At the time of the Revolution, and after, the people and the leaders of the Southern States were as stanch believers in and supporters of freedom as those of the Northern States. The writer of the Declaration of Independence was a Virginian; the Mecklenburg resolutions,* which are said to have antedated, and furnished its pattern or outline, were framed and adopted by citizens of North Carolina; and, long before this, leading citizens of Georgia had strongly protested against the introduction of slavery into that colony. Tobacco was the great exporting crop of the South, and its effects on the soil are well known. The characteristic South had and has no perennial grass or hay crop. Wheat, rye, oats, and corn did not and do not either grow well or produce large crops there. Then, as now, no shipping interest of its own of any magnitude existed there. In Georgia and South Carolina they raised and produced rice and indigo, which were the resources through which money was mostly obtained; but the people lived contented in the main with yams, sweet potatoes, and corn for food, and were true as steel to the cause of independence. The businesses of exportation and soil destruction were then in their infancy.

When the time came to adopt a constitution the representatives of the Southern States refused to consent unless the Constitution was so framed that no export duty could be imposed and no interference made with the export trade of the Southern and other export States. The no export duty clause was presented and insisted upon as necessary to the protection of slavery in the Southern States. Over the

* The so-called "Mecklenburg Declaration" of May 20, 1775, has been shown to be spurious. It was first made public in the Raleigh, N. C., Register, of April 30, 1819. The North Carolina resolutions of May 31, 1775, the genuineness of which is not questioned, bear little resemblance to the Declaration of Independence.—*Ed.*

strong protests of Washington and Madison this limitation of the powers of the nation was accepted and adopted in the Constitution by a bare majority. The votes of members from the commercial and shipping States of the North made that majority. The change of one vote by Mason, Randolph, or Blair, of Virginia, would have fixed the power of levying an export duty in the Constitution.

Presently the cotton and later the sugar crop began to be added to the tobacco crop as great crops of the South, all of them export crops, cotton and tobacco particularly exhausting and destructive to the soil, and rice and sugar requiring soil renewed by overflow like the productive lands of Egypt, but continued as crops under many limitations—as unhealthiness, strong competition in the tropics, small production because these crops were not perfectly suited to the soil and climate, and the difficulty of getting free men to work them. Then came the invention of the cotton-gin, followed by the increase and supremacy of the cotton crop as a Southern and an export crop, and by many other consequences.

In the discussions of the last fifty years in regard to slavery the cotton-gin has always been cited as accounting for the failure of the hopes and beliefs of the fathers at the time of the adoption of the Constitution that slavery would die out by natural processes. So far as I know, the explanation has always stopped with that citation. But how could the cotton-gin strengthen slavery and weaken freedom?

I answer, by the effects it produced in helping soil exhaustion and barbarization; through increased exportation of cotton and its barbarizing effects on the soil, the commerce, and the people of the South. Standing alone, the mere citation throws the discussion into the arena of economics. In the Northern States slavery died a natural death, as it was expected to do throughout the country. The cotton-gin, though invented by a Northerner and manufactured in the North, did not save slavery there. The results observed were therefore due somehow to the effects of its use in and upon the Southern States, land and people.

To one visiting the South for the first time nearly forty years ago, after having become familiar with the reckless expenditure of typical Southern planters at Saratoga, and with their constant boasts that they were the favored people of the earth, because they produced its great export crops and brought all the foreign money into the country, which crops the world must have or perish, it was a profound surprise to discover that these same planters, many of them, when at home, lived in poorly built wooden houses, supported a few feet above the ground on wooden blocks; that these houses were most generally built like the old log-houses of the North a century or two ago, only the

logs were mere poles poorly put together, with the cracks between sometimes plastered with mud, sometimes left open; the floor-boards in many cases placed an inch apart at the edges for convenience in sweeping; the chimney built of sticks split from short and small pieces of pine and plastered with mud; the windows unprovided with glass and closable only by a solid rough pine blind or door; the furniture of the house to the last degree simple and rough, except, perhaps, as to a three- or four-hundred-dollar piano imported from the North. Looking further, everything else about the plantation was found to be of the same order; the adjacent villages and cities, except possibly a half-dozen of the last, were mere travesties of the names, and all of the latter were singular, shrunken, and inferior, considering their ages and their positions as centers of Southern commerce.* Extending observation to the people themselves, they appeared to be suited to and satisfied with their surroundings, not only, but were, with rare exceptions, to the extreme provincially boastful of the superiority of their civilization over all others. The chief occupations of a large portion of the young men in every community seemed to consist in carrying around large pistols and knives, which they used with cheerful frequency upon the persons of their friends and associates. The grocery at the cross-roads was their club-house, and chasing negro girls at night their real business.

Almost no lawyer, doctor, minister, or even teacher, supported himself and family on his professional income, but always added planting, there being practically no other reliable source of income known in the country.

As to dress, the men of the South bought expensive clothes, but, as a tailor once sadly remarked to me, "they never know how to put them on." Now and again you would meet a man with frills for his shirt bosom, and on his shirt sleeves in the place of cuffs, and there would be about him an air as if, could you but make a full examination, there would be a disclosure of frilled pantalets somewhere, in a more or less rudimentary form, in this respect showing the only partly aborted garments of the cavalier from whom he claimed descent, like the partly discarded toes in Prof. Huxley's and Prof. Marsh's fossil horse. At the same time it was easy to detect many noble and engaging traits of character inherited from the same cavalier source.

Looking into the conditions of land titles, it then appeared that there was a carelessness about them indicating an approach toward treating land as personal property, the sufficient title to which lay in

* Although it is but little more than one hundred and fifty years since Georgia began to be settled, we already have a considerable book on library shelves entitled The Lost Towns of Georgia.

possession, while negro property was much more carefully guarded as to title, as if slaves were the real property of the country. And looking into actual land conditions, it appeared that almost all the land occupied in the early settlement of the country had long since been abandoned to wilderness and grown up to forest, and that successive sections occupied subsequent to the Revolution had been robbed of their capacity for production and abandoned as worthless, new lands being ever the resort, and no effort at keeping up fertility being either attempted or possible. In fact, the whole country, so far as devoted to the chief staple of the South—cotton—seemed destined to undergo this change, and be eventually relegated to wilderness, and the people either to emigration, barbarism, or extinction.

Out of this chronic status of decline and decay came the necessary consequences of want of employment, and of any and all opportunity for either a career, or even a meager support, for the young men who had not and could not come into possession of slaves. There was literally nothing for the large majority of them to do except to engage in fortune-hunting or filibustering. The former was, we may advisedly say, reduced to a science, for intending lovers first sought the facts of the case by consulting the records and ascertaining how much "stock" the old man owned before taking any steps to win the young lady. And the young ladies were not far behind the huntsmen of the other sex in this respect. Between 1850 and 1860 the numerous filibustering schemes in the South were largely due to this cause of unrest—want of opportunity for a career—as later it became the actual cause of the rebellion and of all that the rebellion implies.

Next let me say that the growth of slavery in the South, where its decay had been expected and hoped for by the fathers, was due to the same cause—the continued impoverishment of the soil, due to the exportation of its annual product direct from the plantation, the owner of the land living, in fact, on his capital, so far as it was invested in land, eventually to be driven out an exile to seek new lands in new places or new States, there, by the aid of his slaves, to repeat the operation and barely maintain the low order of civilization which was the necessary result of his method of treating the land.

The rebellion also was due, not to slavery, as almost universally supposed, but to the same cause—land impoverishment, and the want of employment for the young men thereby caused, together with a certain jealousy on the part of the young men of the South, which had for its object the young men of the North and their greatly more abundant opportunities.

Property in the South, as elsewhere, was conservative, and the property of the South was in the hands of the slave-holders. But when it

appeared, as it gradually did during the fall of 1860 and the early months of 1861, that the young men of the better families of the South would at last find a vocation as officers of the large army and navy that would be required to cope with the United States and the North, resistance to rebellion declined where it previously controlled, and rebellion first became a possibility and was eventually accepted as a boon and a solution. In this new scheme of a new nation slaves were to be the workers. This was the secret of the sudden change of front made by Alexander Stephens when he sanctioned the formation of the new government on the foundation rock of slavery. I speak as a witness rather than as a philosopher.

Slavery itself was militant in type in the evolutionary sense, and the Southern people in going into rebellion suddenly saw, or thought they saw, the opportunity to complete the type in a symmetrical whole—the origin of it all being found in the treatment of Southern soil for the purpose of sustaining a foreign trade made free and possible under the clause of the Constitution that prevents the levy of an export duty.

When we take up the race question in the South, I expect to be able to show you why emancipation and reconstruction, which have both of them ignored the real causes of Southern conditions, if my conclusions are correct, have not disposed and can not dispose of the Southern question, but are destined to create greater difficulties and disasters than those they were used to remedy or we have yet begun to imagine.

Let us now turn to the North for the purpose of ascertaining why, under the same Constitution and the same laws, the same results did not there occur.

Contrasting tobacco, cotton, rice, and sugar of the South with Northern wheat, corn, rye, oats, hay, and all the other products that leave the farm substantially in the original crop condition, one would say wealth was concentrated in the one and diffused in the other, and the puzzling question inevitably arises, Why, then, should the South be poor and the North rich—the South unable to find room either for immigrants or for its own children, while the North was able to abandon vast fields of labor to immigrants while the natives moved up into lighter and apparently more lucrative and desirable occupations?

Further observation discloses, however, that whereas the largest of rich Southern products were practically all sent abroad, after first taking this superior richness from the soil, the poorer Northern products were mostly and necessarily consumed and used at home. And here we shall find the secret of the whole business. Nature took care of the North by making it impossible to export much of the crops that were so heavy in proportion to value, while it left the South to its own inventions and its beautiful theory as to growing rich on free

trade based on the no-export-duty clause of the Constitution. In other words, the North can not plume itself for its success, because, against its will and without its knowledge, it has been saved by the great cost of transportation of its heavy products, which, acting as a natural export duty in the absence of a constitutional one, prevented exportation, kept the products at home to be largely consumed on the farms where the manure would help maintain and in some cases increase the fertility of the soil, protected the land owner, and therefore gave an increased return for the labor bestowed upon the land, its products finding a market at home without the deduction of the cost of transportation abroad.

The consequence has been that, instead of at once exporting and getting rid forever of its agricultural capital as found in the productiveness of the soil, like the South, the North has been able to use it over and over again on true principles of conservation of energy, because each time, after doing its proper work as food of men and animals, the waste or manure it makes has been restored to the soil as so much saved capital, to presently be returned to the land owner and worker in new and larger crops, food or other. To the somewhat occult, or at least disregarded or unrecognized, causes of its own prosperity, it is due in part that the North has seemed to be almost afflicted with imbecility or paralysis in its conduct toward the South and its problems.

In other words the North owes its salvation—its temporary salvation—to time, space, distance, and the law of gravitation, by the aid of which the North peacefully emancipated its slaves on evolutionary principles; but not recognizing the source of its success in the moral implications of physical law and matter, it has been, so far, unable to show the South how to solve its problem.

During the past sixty years the progress of the age has, however, produced the railroad and the steamship, whereby the cost of transportation and the time consumed in reaching market have been greatly lessened, thus reducing the natural export duty, increasing the facilities for looting the continent through manipulations of a system known under the euphonious title of foreign commerce, bringing the North under the influence of English economic theory and practice and reducing the North to semi-Southern conditions as to land, people, and individual character.

To this general line of causes I attribute the decay of the farming interest, East, West, and in the Middle States; the development of a new class of nabobs and aristocrats recognized as railroad millionaires; the gravitating tendency of population toward cities and city life; the importation of laborers of an ever-declining mental and normal status; the admitted failure of republican methods of government as applied

to cities (the problem with which our worthy president will deal at our next meeting); the modern dominance of the saloon in all branches of politics; the demand for the increase and development of all kinds of eleemosynary institutions; the labor agitations, in so far as they may have a just foundation in an unfair distribution of the compensation of labor; the growth of poverty; the want of money capital in the South, West, and agricultural regions generally, its concentration in the exporting cities and centers, and the demand now being made the chief political question of the campaign for a more equal distribution of the money instrument of exchange; and also, to a large extent, the development of disease.

With suggestive variations in the rapidity, nature, and location of development, these new conditions have kept pace and maintained active relations with the increase and cheapening of railroad and other transportation facilities at the North.

Disease is a subject worthy of independent treatment, but I can only hint and suggest for your further study. With the decline of fertility, plant life is weakened in vitality, and becomes the prey of all kinds of insect and germ life, finally yielding to its foes and giving up the fight. Coincidently and co-ordinately, associated animal and human life on the farm and in the city becomes weakened and afflicted in similar ways, losing the power to cope with its foes, which make their attacks from every possible direction of approach in the form of an infinite number of germs, to which weakened humanity succumbs. Along with these follow intellectual and moral decline, the entire drift being toward extinction or non-survival because of unfitness, the beginning of which is injustice to land, soil exhaustion, and diminished return for labor. Much more might be added if time permitted, which it does not.

I have received from a gentleman (who states that he is a son of a founder of this church and is deeply interested in the solution of the problems of poverty) a courteous letter calling my attention to an inclosed copy of the "single-tax platform," and asking me to consider it in dealing with this subject.

I could not, for want of time, enlarge upon the scheme of Henry George and its recent modification. Nearly twenty years before George wrote, and as far back as my law-school experience, I studied the fundamentals of his system, which, as he finally discovered, had often been studied, treated, and abandoned before he was born. When his book appeared I welcomed it, not because I found in it any solution, or anything new, but because I judged that it would attract the attention of those who could probably in no other way be aroused to a study of the pressing problems of the time. For such uses I welcome it still, although

I begin to see the arrogances of supposed omniscience, and the consequent inability to learn further, cropping out here and there among the truly true believers in George's theories. It would be, or seem, discourteous if I should say that Mr. George impresses me as if he had gone to sea to study the land question and had developed a scheme of the all-at-sea character. This form of criticism, however, expresses my view of it as a whole. He has first of all taken his case into the wrong court, into the wrong forum. The proper action is an action for waste, for a misuse of the source of all production, and it is not a quarrel over the division of wealth already in assured but wrongful possession, as his tax method implies. The question is one of production first and of destruction afterward, and in this fact lies a part of the significance of biological principles so much insisted on by Mr. Spencer.

But if the facts I have assumed to present are facts, then the system of Mr. George has a fatal error in its proposed remedy of "perfect freedom of trade with all the world," because such freedom under present conditions permits the excessive exportation of land products, causes the exhaustion of the soil, and inevitably produces poverty and the whole Pandora-box full of evils that follow in its train.

I am entirely aware of the strain my alleged facts in regard to the South and the causes of rebellion will put on your opinions, although my testimony is the testimony of a witness to what I do know as facts. And let me say that I neither expect nor wish you to accept them without such further study as shall put you in possession of them as admitted or as demonstrated facts, and also of a co-ordinated system of thought applicable to the subject.

To assist you in the study let me state some other facts that are easily capable of verification. And first this: In framing the Confederate Constitution the South abandoned the no-export-duty principle and gave the Confederate Government the power to levy export duties, and its first loan—the so-called cotton loan—was secured by the pledge of such a duty on cotton. The origin, motive, and history of this clause of the Confederate Constitution form a most interesting subject of study for the evolutionary sociologist and statesman. Second, under the influence of this export duty, in combination with the semi-Chinese wall of the blockade, which our foreign friends were not entirely able to surmount and overcome, its nature being that of a prohibitive export duty, manufactures grew and developed wonderfully in the South for the first time during the war, giving employment to manufacturers and mechanics in large numbers. Third, these became the special favorites of the Confederacy for obvious reasons, and in the last year of the war they met in convention at Richmond and passed resolutions in which they undertook to instruct the plant-

ing class in regard to its duty to the Government. Thus in four short years the "greasy mechanic" and "mudsill" became a leader in the new state under a new Constitution that gave him protection. Accompanying these changes of condition were co-ordinate modifications of the conditions of slave labor clearly pointing to evolutionary emancipation within the Confederacy. And fourth, the moment the Confederacy was overcome and the supremacy of the United States Constitution with its no-export-duty clause was restored in the South, the manufactures which had engaged these men were swept away like writing on a slate with a wet sponge. These four items are worthy of complete treatment, which I can not here give them. I commend them in their present form for use in the pipes of all free-traders. They will prolong the smoke materially. And I further suggest that when later you come to this place to hear free trade, protection, the Democratic and Republican parties, immigration, the monetary problem, etc., discussed, you bear them in mind and watch the essayists to see how their theories fit into these facts, which in the mean time you will be able to verify if necessary or disprove.

The question naturally occurs whether in presenting this view we have wandered from the paths laid out and guide-boarded by the Master. He says, in Justice: "For the *health* of the social organism and the *welfare* of its members *a balance of functions is requisite.*" While he lays down this principle in dealing with the question of representation, it is evident that it applies with all the more force to those activities of individuals which alone organize the social organism.

He also says: "The end which the statesman should keep in view as higher than all other ends is the formation of *character*. And if there is entertained a right conception of the character which should be formed, *and of the means by which it may be formed*, the exclusion of multiplied state agencies is necessarily implied." And in Data of Ethics he says in substance that egoism without altruism, and altruism without egoism, are immoral; and if this is true in morals, it must be all the more true in economics and statesmanship.*

* Prof. John Fiske, undoubtedly the American leader both as a writer and thinker in the field of evolution, to whose instructive words delivered from our platform we have listened with delight and with whom we rejoice to enroll ourselves as fellow-workers, has treated the critical period of American history out of which the Constitution of the United States was evolved. A perusal of his book clearly discloses the fact that he would not agree with the views here only partially expressed and explained. He eulogizes Adam Smith and The Wealth of Nations, regrets that the principles he therein announced were not more fully carried out in our fundamental national law, and commends the limitations of the Constitution in the matter of the power to levy an export duty as so much gain to human progress. It seems to me he has not fully considered the subject or applied thereto the fundamental principles laid down by Mr. Spencer himself. As Mr. Buckle amply showed, Adam Smith, in writing his first book, A Theory of the Moral Sentiments, confined himself to the sympathetic or altruistic view, and in writing the Wealth of Nations confined himself to the egoistic

Soil exhaustion is but one of the hydra-headed progeny of unrestrained egoism. The effect of it is to take away what our friend Gunton calls "opportunity," and with it goes all possibility of the formation of rightly conceived individual character. Of this loss of opportunity every citizen becomes a victim, whether he lives in a city and has more [indirect relations to land, or on a farm which he owns and upon which he labors, and from which he seeks the return for that labor. The direct and necessary effect of soil enrichment, however, and of the system of conduct thereby implied, is to increase every possible "opportunity" of every citizen.

My conclusion, then, is that no scheme of society or its reform whatever can be made to work toward righteousness and the progress of man and the state unless it begins or has its foundation in *absolute justice to the land.*

DR. ROBERT G. ECCLES:

All I can do is to indorse and confirm the positions taken by the speaker and by Mr. Skilton. In speaking of the exhaustion of the soil caused by the free-trade policy, the latter has given the advocates of that policy a very tough nut to crack. The direction of an industry of a nation is the direction of its intercourse; and this is the direction of its strength. If a nation trades with other nations—intermarries abroad, as it were—its home interests are weakened; but if it trades with itself, the bonds of consanguinity are strengthened. Under free trade the United States would do as Brazil is about to do—break up into two nations, or rather four or five.

The lecture of this evening was a poem, but also clear-cut and brimful of science. The lecturer adopted the true scientific method. He began at the beginning of the problem. He adopted the plan of Copernicus and Galileo in the study of the solar system, and not the crude way of the ignorant observer. He has regarded the problem from every point of view, and pointed to the interlocking of all its features. In this way only can we solve any social or scientific problem. What

or selfish point of view, being at the time when he wrote unable to combine the two views in one synthesis, because of the then imperfect state of human knowledge. Here, too, Buckle and his work broke down and failed. Mr. Spencer, however, has done what Adam Smith confessedly could not do, and has presented us with a system in which the opposite egoistic and altruistic views are harmonized in one and a higher view. And in so doing he has given us the new scientific gospel of the coming civilization. This higher view I have attempted, with what I know is but imperfect success at the best, to apply in the discussion of this topic. But I venture to ask, with sufficient modesty, whether enough has not been developed to show that it is necessary for the mass of the American people and their political parties to reconsider, not simply the questions of protection and free trade, but all the other affiliated questions, in the light of the new principle laid down by Mr. Spencer and of the history of a hundred years and more; and also whether the same reconsideration should not be made by the leaders of evolutionary thought and the teachers of the people in the application of that thought to the practical politics of the time?

should we know about botany without chemistry, or about chemistry without physics? Another grand point of the lecturer was the emphasis he laid upon the fact that true progress can only be attained by allowing every human soul to suffer the effects of its own conduct. The only way to civilize a man is to let him suffer the natural punishment of his acts. I regret that the lecturer did not go further into the question of land values and point out the fact that the "unearned increment" we hear so much about from those who study this as a distinct problem constitutes all there is of value to anything. There is no value in existence that is not unearned increment. This is demonstrated by examining the nature of value in exchange. Labor does not constitute it. Labor is a subsidiary element, but not the law of value. A man in Africa who picks up a valuable diamond has expended but little labor. Value depends solely on human desire—it is the measure of your desire as compared with mine. When we exchange a hat and a dollar, the desire for each is nearly equal on both sides. All this desire is unearned increment, for if I alone desire a thing it has no value, no matter how much labor has been expended in its production. Its value increases as the multitude which desires it. If we are to tax away the unearned increment of land, let us be consistent and tax the unearned increment of everything else.

MR. J. WHIDDEN GRAHAM:

I could wish that the lecturer had paid more attention to the political aspect of this question—to the phase presented to us in every-day life, and emphasized in the single-tax movement. We have had a unique theory of the effects of free trade set forth to-night, as a tough nut to be cracked, but modern science has given us nut-crackers to use instead of teeth, and the breaking of this nut is no hard matter. It has already been done, and the kernel is found to be quite moldy. It is said that free trade impoverishes the soil—that this is the result of cotton exportation. Now, it makes no difference to the cotton-grower whether he ships his crop to England or to Massachusetts. The crop goes away from his farm, of necessity, and as there is no way to convert the cotton into fertilizers at home, it might as well go. The evil must be remedied in some other way, as it is done in Europe, by more scientific attention to the problem of fertilization.

The speaker of the evening is in practical accord with Henry George. The public has a right to take as taxes the value which the public creates, but it is absurd and iniquitous to tax those who improve the land for their improvements. I disagree with the speaker when he says that the system of land tenure is not important. Is the present system just or equitable? When we see vacant lots along our well-

paved, lighted, and protected streets, there is something wrong. A system which permits the locking up of land for speculation is bad. Taxing land values does not interfere with private ownership, but combines it with the recognition of the right of the public to the value it creates. It permits the best use of the land, and it does not permit the individual to hold the land unless he makes such use of it.

The definition of value given here this evening is new to me. If men could pick up diamonds on the streets, they would have no value. The average amount of time and labor required to find a diamond determines its market value. The labor cost has, up to this time, entered into all values. Henry George lays stress upon the fact that production is depressed and diminished under the present system of land tenure. Unoccupied coal lands and farm lands should not be allowed. It is curious that free trade should be attacked because foreign countries would be benefited by it. Would we not benefit by their trade as much as they by ours? Are not all such benefits mutual? Is it not to our interest that the whole world should be prosperous, so that every one can afford to buy our goods, and thus increase our own prosperity?

PROF. MASON, in closing: There is one thought I wish to leave with you. Look around you in New York and Brooklyn, where there is so much wealth and thrift and intelligence, and then look back to the beginnings of history at the poor little groups of human beings without experience or teachers or advisers, and reflect upon the rude and careless way in which the resources of life have been handled by man—then think with what rapidity he may go forward in the future, when he shall have begun to husband his resources. It took a millennium to make the stone hammer, but now we work more rapidly. It is a laudable ambition and hope to have some part in the new gospel of progress. If one can not himself invent a new machine, or discover the true method of working, he may at least be a colporteur to those who are less informed than himself. In a city all ages and conditions of men are represented. It is but a small portion of the nineteenth century which is in the nineteenth century; the rest is scattered back along the ages. The noblest ambition of our lives should be to take one individual out of the eighteenth century and bring him into the nineteenth, or to take the savage by the hand and lead him to civilization. Doing this, the problems we are studying will vanish like the snow before the sun.

THE PROBLEM OF CITY GOVERNMENT

BY

LEWIS G. JANES

AUTHOR OF A STUDY OF PRIMITIVE CHRISTIANITY, THE EVOLUTION OF MORALS, LIFE AS A FINE ART, ETC.

COLLATERAL READINGS SUGGESTED:

Bryce's The American Commonwealth; Fiske's Civil Government in the United States; Ely's Taxation in American States and Cities; Fothergill's The Town Dweller, his Needs and his Wants; Allinson and Penrose's Philadelphia: a History of Municipal Development; Bugbee's City Government of Boston; Howe's City Government of New Orleans; Bernard's Establishment of Municipal Government in San Francisco; Shaw's Municipal Government in England; Snow's City Government in St. Louis; Levermore's New Haven; Low's The Problem of City Government (Johns Hopkins University Series); Firth's Municipal London; Shaw's *Glasgow: a Municipal Study*, in Century, March, 1890, *How London is Governed*, Century, November, 1890, and *Municipal Government in Great Britain*, Political Science Quarterly, June, 1889; Ivins's *Municipal Government*, in Political Science Quarterly, June, 1887; Amos Parker Wilder's The Municipal Problem; A Plea for Liberty.

THE PROBLEM OF CITY GOVERNMENT.

By Dr. Lewis G. Janes.

The Ancient and the Modern City.

The future historian who shall write the story of the modern city, and of the American municipality in particular, as Fustel de Coulanges and Sir Henry Maine have traced the evolution of the ancient city, will find ample scope for his genius and his industry, and by their exercise will render all subsequent students of social science his debtors. But the time for such an historical accomplishment is not yet come. American cities are not yet made; they are still in the making. Our municipalities are like lank and overgrown youths, who have expended their vitality in simply growing, at the expense of grace, symmetry, and healthful, manly vigor. We have great aggregates of population, but no genuine corporate individuality and life. In the growth of our cities the mechanical processes of aggregation and differentiation have outstripped the vital and assimilative process of integration, and our urban populations, for the time being, are sufferers from the evils of this one-sided, unsymmetrical development.

Looking at this question historically, we first note that the modern city and the ancient city are by no means identical in their origin, structure, or institutional equipment. The ancient city was the nucleus and creator of the state. The cities of Greece antedated and formed the Alexandrian Empire. Rome preceded and created the Roman Empire. The modern city, on the contrary, is the creature of the state, on which it depends for its corporate life. The ancient city was essentially militant in its structure. The modern city is essentially industrial. The site of the ancient city was usually chosen for strategic reasons; that of the modern city almost always for commercial reasons. The ancient city was governed by a military autocracy, or, when the form was nominally republican, by a small minority of free men. A large majority of its population were slaves, possessed of no civil rights. The modern city, in so far as

its local autonomy is guaranteed, is governed by popular suffrage. Its only servile class is composed of those hide-bound partisans who "always vote the straight ticket," obedient to the dictation of the party boss or political caucus.

Influence of the City on Civilization.

Yet beneath these obvious differences there are certain fundamental features of resemblance between the ancient and the modern city. Each is the standard-bearer of social and individual progress. Each exemplifies the high-water mark which civilization has reached at the period of its existence. Before the ancient city, men dwelt in tents and wandered from place to place as nomads—rolling stones which gathered no moss of wealth, culture, or civic virtue. They combined in families, clans, or tribes, bound together by the fact or fiction of blood-relationship. When they ceased to be hunters and became agriculturists, they sought for themselves fixed habitations, and arduously wrung a scanty living from the reluctant soil. In the constitution of the city men first recognized that the ties of human brotherhood were of wider scope than those of blood-relationship. Here different religions met and laid the foundations of mutual toleration. Here were the beginnings of art, of education, of a true cosmopolitan spirit. Examples of those forms of social organization which antedated the city still survive and furnish the scientific data for comparison. They will never become wholly extinct. The family is and must continue the germ of all societary forms; but the ethical life of the isolated family rapidly degenerates toward the rudeness, narrowness, and egoism characteristic of primitive man. The agriculturist we can never do without, unless, as Dr. Eccles intimated in his lecture on The Evolution of Chemistry,* the chemist is finally to supplant him as the food provider of the race. Even the nomad survives in America in our roving bands of Indians and gypsies, and in the modern tramp, the true nomadic product of our latter-day civilization.

Despite the present tendency in America to disparage the city as the source and center of influences which threaten the peace and stability of society, thoughtful writers on

* In Evolution in Science, Philosophy, and Art, pp. 125–150.

social science are agreed in recognizing its pre-eminent place in the van of human progress. "Man, the molecule of society," says Henry C. Carey, "is the subject of social science. . . . His greatest need is that of association with his fellows. . . . Of all animals he is the most gregarious; and the greater the number collected in a given space, the greater is the attractive force that is there exerted, as was shown in the cities of the ancient world—Nineveh and Babylon, Athens and Rome; and as is now shown in Paris and London, New York and Philadelphia. . . . History furnishes evidence that the tendency to association, without which the human animal can not become the true MAN, has everywhere grown with the growth of local centers of attraction and declined with their decline." *

The free cities of Europe were the source of all the liberties which are now the common property of the civilized world. Prof. Gunton declares their establishment to be "the first real step toward progress and freedom"; and adds: "As the towns increased more rapidly in population and prosperity, they naturally developed a spirit of independence. . . . The burghers, having had a taste of wealth and social freedom, were ready to risk them all to retain these benefits." † "In the middle ages," says Charles Sumner, our most thoughtful and scholarly statesman of the last generation, "the cities became the home of freedom and the bridle of feudalism." ‡ Adam Smith also declares: "Order and good government, and along with them the liberty and security of the individual, were established in cities at a time when the occupiers of the land were exposed to every sort of violence." § And Herbert Spencer, speaking of the gradual liberation of industrial workers in Europe, adds his testimony to the influence of cities in promoting civilization: "Growing more numerous, more powerful, and taking refuge in towns where it was less under the influence of the militant class," he says, "this industrial population carried on its life under the system of voluntary co-operation. Though municipal governments and guild regulations partially pervaded by ideas and usages derived from the militant type of society were in some degree coercive, yet production and distribution were in the main carried on

* Social Science, pp. 37–39.
† Principles of Social Economics, pp. 34–37.
‡ Speech on The Representative System and its Proper Basis, in the Massachusetts House of Representatives, July 7, 1853. Works, vol. iii.
§ Wealth of Nations, Book III, chap. ii, p. 308.

under agreement—alike between buyers and sellers, and between masters and workers. As fast as these social relations and forms of activity became dominant in urban populations, they influenced the whole community." *

With the fall of the free cities, and the extinction of local self-government in Spain, Italy, France, and Germany, liberty and civilization received a blow from which they have not yet recovered. "The poverty and wretchedness which followed this decay of the Christian and violent overthrow of the Moorish cities of Spain," says Prof. Gunton, "are almost indescribable. . . . By the close of the fifteenth century their representation in the Cortes, and with it their industrial and social freedom, was practically extinct. From this time Spain rapidly declined, and soon fell from the position of one of the strongest to that of one of the weakest nations of Europe—a fall from which she has never since recovered." † Surely here are lessons full of significance to us. No perfection of the details of municipal administration under an autocratic system should blind us to the real meaning and ultimate effect of the loss of local self-government. When we are informed, as we were by a candidate for municipal honors in our recent political campaign—happily, he was not elected—that self-government in our cities is a failure, and are advised to return to the antiquated method of government by commissions appointed by the Governor or elected by the State Legislature, remembering the lessons of history and experience, we should firmly decline to follow such advice.

The City judged by the Social Philosophy of Evolution.

Here let us pause to note that this foremost position of the city in the van of civilization is precisely what we should expect to find it according to the social philosophy of evolution. In the city the structure of society is more complex and highly evolved than in any other form of social combination. In the life of the nomad each individual strongly resembles every other individual. Every man is a "jack of all trades and master of none," not even of the art of war, which is the natural avocation of all nomadic peoples. In agricultural communities society remains relatively homo-

* Introduction to A Plea for Liberty, p. 9.
† Principles of Social Economics, p. 40.

geneous. Occupations are but little diversified. Men and women have common and narrow interests, common objects of thought, and culture does not rise above a certain dead-level of uninspiring mediocrity. The agriculturists of former times were slaves or serfs until contact with civic life inoculated them with the love and hope for liberty. So also in our own day the country relies upon the city for intellectual stimulus and ethical regeneration. The salvation of the farmer, as well as of the farm, lies in the proximity of cities and large towns. This vital contiguity has an important bearing on some of the problems of city government, as we shall hereafter see. No purely agricultural community ever reached or ever can reach a high degree of culture or civilization. Though by no means an advocate of high protective tariffs, I go as far as any "protectionist" in emphasizing the importance of the proximity of large towns to agricultural communities. If necessary to secure this co-ordinate growth of city and country, side by side, I am not prepared to say that I would not justify the erection of Chinese walls or the infliction of prohibitory tariffs. I differ, however, from the advocates of this policy of exclusion in that I do not believe it to be necessary in America and in the present stage of civilization. The proximity of the city, and daily contact with its pulsing tides of thought and life through personal intercourse, and through the city newspaper of the better class, is essential to preserve our farming populations from intellectual stagnation, a fossilized conservatism, and final extinction through the exhaustion of both their physical and their intellectual resources. We are told that "God made the country and man made the town"; and no one better than myself appreciates the benefits to the town-dweller of frequent escapes to the freer air and brighter sunlight of sea-shore and mountains—to the peace and quiet of the country hamlet or the upland farm. But the gifts of Nature were bestowed upon man, not as talents to be buried, but as opportunities to be improved; and though the city is indeed man-made, it is no less the fulfillment of the divine purpose, as all art is the crown and glory and final justification of Nature.

In the growing village we already have the germs of a larger and more vigorous intellectual life. If the country gives freedom to limbs and lungs, the town liberates the intellect and sharpens and develops all the higher human faculties. Here wealth accumulates and men do *not* decay, at least

not morally or intellectually; the fact is, they never do decay save under the grinding stress of poverty and the deadening influence of a prevailing uniformity of thought and life. As the village becomes a city, all the forces by means of which civilization advances increase. Occupations become more diversified. The differentiation of society rapidly progresses. Men become individuals, each thinking his own unborrowed thought, seeking his congenial associates, doing his chosen work, in which he becomes expert, thus rendering the greatest possible service to society and securing for himself a maximum compensation. The modern city has something of the effect upon individual and social life which that city of God—the New Jerusalem—will have upon the ransomed spirit according to the Swedenborgian philosophy. Here every one goes to his own place: the righteous seek the righteous for associates, the vicious seek the vicious. If vice becomes segregated and intensified, so also does virtue. By their very intensity and publicity vicious influences become easier to avoid and easier to counteract. If the city contains centers of vice and crime, it *is* the center from which flow all the beneficent influences which tend to elevate, instruct, and benefit mankind. It is true that there is another side to this question—that serious evils attend the too rapid growth of urban populations—that physical degeneracy goes hand in hand with intellectual culture and general material prosperity. Later on we shall consider this aspect of our subject more fully; shall seek for the causes of these evils, and endeavor to prescribe their proper remedies.

The European and the American City.

As there are features of difference, and also of resemblance, between the ancient city and the modern city, indicative of corresponding modifications in the structure and form of their governmental machinery, so also similar distinctions, as well as resemblances, must be noted between the European and the American city. We can not remedy the defects in our municipal systems by noting the superior excellence of European methods, and copying the examples set up for our emulation in Paris, Glasgow, or Berlin. Social institutions are not made; they *grow*. Their roots run down deep into the ultimate structure of the society which constitutes the soil in which they are planted. What Mr.

Fiske affirms of the Government of the United States is equally true of the government of our corporate municipalities: it "is not the result of special creation, but of evolution."* Democratic America must solve its own problems in its own way, using the forces and materials at its command. I would by no means underrate the value of those admirable monographs on the government of European cities which Dr. Shaw, Mr. Sylvester Baxter, Prof. Levermore, of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, Prof. Adams and Prof. Ely, of Johns Hopkins University, and others have furnished us. It is surely worth our while to know that excellent results have been accomplished elsewhere, and by what means they have been accomplished; and we may thence sometimes derive valuable suggestions for our own guidance What I desire to emphasize is the fact that we are working under conditions radically different in many respects from those under which European cities have developed, and we can not work out our own municipal salvation by becoming servile copyists of European methods.

Our problem is much more complex than that of European cities. If we ask what is the form of municipal government in England, Germany, or France, for example, the question is easily answered. In England the municipal borough is a corporation deriving its charter directly from the national Parliament, as the German city does from the Reichstag, and the French city from the National Assembly. In each country we find certain local modifications in governmental methods adapted to local differences in the social and political environment. A given city in either country, however, is a type of all the rest. With slight variations growing out of the special necessities of different municipalities, governmental methods are alike in all. In this country, however, we find an immense diversity of method and machinery instead of a relative uniformity. The American city derives its corporate life from the State, not from the National Government. Each State regulates this important matter for itself, and the methods in vogue are about as diverse as the number of States. Moreover, in those States where cities are incorporated by special charter, each city has its own particular methods, which are not necessarily or usually identical with those of any other. And in some States where general laws are theoretically substi-

* Civil Government in the United States. By John Fiske.

tuted for special charters, the classification and subdivision of cities into different grades, to each of which is assigned a varying governmental machinery, gives rise to a diversity almost as complex; so that the laws governing our municipal administration may well be described in the language of Carlyle: "The sound of them is not a *voice*, conveying knowledge or memorial of any earthly or heavenly thing; it is a wide-spread, inarticulate, slumberous mumblement." *

Quasi-militant Structure of the European City.

Moreover, the cities of Europe, both in their origin and in their present methods of municipal government, are quasi-militant rather than purely industrial. While the struggle for better means of subsistence was undoubtedly the motive which always impelled men to gather in towns and cities, as it has been the dominant incentive to all social advancement, the location and political administration of European cities were often determined by the necessity for compromise with existing militant conditions. These cities either grew out of the original Roman trading colonies, and were patterned in their political structure upon Roman imperialism, or they were created by the clustering of populations around the castles of the feudal barons. At first forced to pay tribute to the barons for protection against local marauders, as they grew in strength and acquired a desire for larger liberty, they were compelled to win it by conflict with their feudal masters, and thus developed a militant organization of their own societies. Paris and Berlin, representative cities of the European continent, have not yet wholly outgrown the militant features of their civic life. The Parisian *gens d'armes*, and the Berlin police force, as well as the fire departments of many European cities, are local arms of the national military service, appointed and officered by the central or imperial government, having no responsibility to the local administration. The great city of Paris, though under a *régime* nominally republican, has no administrative head chosen by its own citizens or by their deputies. The Préfect of the Seine, who is the nearest representative of the mayor of our American cities, is appointed by the General Government and is wholly irresponsible to the citizens of Paris. The true corporate life and individuality of Paris and of other French cities resides in the communes,

* Introduction to Cromwell's Letters and Speeches.

which are artificial territorial divisions not coincident with the natural centers of population, in the cities corresponding somewhat with our wards. Each commune has its own resident *maire* and a sort of local autonomy.

Perfect as are some of the municipal regulations of the European cities, it is evident that we in America can never reach a like perfection by copying their methods. Take the police system, for example. The citizens of New York and Brooklyn are not likely, I think, to attempt an improvement of their police force by resorting to the old experiment of a metropolitan body appointed by the State—still less to the espionage of a force owing its supreme allegiance to the Government at Washington. Yet it can not be denied that the European system is admirably perfect in its workings. A friend of mine recently purchased a book in a Berlin bookstore, having arrived in that city, where he was a stranger, scarcely three hours previous. Having another engagement farther on, he left the book in the store, without name or address, remarking that he would call for it on his way home. He was detained beyond his expectation, and found the store closed when he returned; but, to his surprise, on reaching his hotel he perceived the package leaning against the door of his room. On inquiring the next day at the store how they knew where to send it, he was informed that the *policeman* instructed them. The result in this instance was convenient; but the knowledge of such espionage is not agreeable, I think, to the free-born American citizen. Moreover, some of the most excellent features in the local government of European cities have been achieved by an approximation to our own democratic methods. When we envy Berlin her perfect pavements and clean streets, we should remember that these admirable results have only been accomplished within the last sixteen years, and are due, as Mr. Baxter tells us, "to a change of administration from the state to the city," or, in other words, to the application of the principle of local self-government. And the marked progress made in other European cities in recent years has been coincident with a steady tendency to the widening of the suffrage.

Relation of Institutions to the Individual.

In treating of the problem of city government in America, I must premise that I by no means assume that the ad-

mitted evils under which we labor are wholly due to defects in our municipal machinery, or are to be completely remedied by the correction of these defects. This problem is but a part of a much larger social and political problem given us for solution. The conditions of city life are everywhere interwoven with circumstances which reach beyond the boundaries of the corporate municipality, and react upon the conditions of our civic life. And back of the superficial phenomena of our society they rest upon laws and conditions inherent in human nature itself, and even in the structure of the physical universe. As an evolutionist I believe in a science of sociology, the laws of which are measurably discoverable, and upon obedience to which all true social advancement is dependent. To the discovery and application of these laws I look, therefore, for the remedy of the present ills of society—not to any of the panaceas proposed by the various empirical schools of social reform. The faults of our civic government are primarily faults of human nature itself, of individual indifference, unwisdom and immorality; and these must be corrected by the slow processes of ethical and intellectual culture before we can expect perfect institutions. You can no more secure a perfect society by perfecting its governmental machinery than you can make a moral and every way admirable man by dressing him in a perfectly fitting suit of clothes. Nevertheless, the first thing in a municipal system, as in a suit of clothes, is *to have it fit*—to adapt the institution to the requirements of the situation. A good lady of Concord once said to Mr. Emerson that "the consciousness of being dressed in a nice, well-fitting gown was superior to the consolations of religion"; and it can not be denied that the consciousness of living in a well-governed city would be a constant stimulus to individual self-respect and civic pride. Man is greater than institutions; but institutions react upon the man, and either dwarf or stimulate his natural, healthful evolution. It is not a matter of small moment, therefore, whether the institutions "fit" or not.

Application of the Scientific Method to the Municipal Problem.

In an hour's discussion a detailed statement of the evils of municipal administration will not be expected. We all know that we have a cumbrous and expensive machinery of

civic government, badly managed, as a rule, by incompetent officials; enormous taxes and municipal debts; overcrowded tenements and public conveyances; dirty streets; costly illumination; and a score of other valid sources of complaint. These evils are patent to every intelligent citizen; and the proposed infallible remedies are about as numerous as the advertised specifics for physical ailments, and would doubtless prove nearly as dangerous in their experimental application. It is not my purpose to add one more to these proposed specifics. The aim of this paper, on the contrary, is to present the results of a scientific study of our municipal methods, some of which do not appear to be generally comprehended; to note certain tendencies heretofore manifested in the variation of the machinery and methods of our city governments as they adapt themselves to the growing life of our American municipalities; and, by a due consideration of the forces potent in producing these variations, to discover, if possible, the natural trend of institutional development, and the consequent scientific direction of genuine remedial efforts; and, finally, to estimate the probable form which our city governments will assume in the near or proximate future.

Importance and Complexity of this Problem in America. Interesting Facts.

A hasty glance at a few pertinent facts will enable us better to understand the importance and immense complexity of this problem. By a recent census bulletin, the towns and cities in the United States of over eight thousand inhabitants contain 29·12 per cent of the entire population. This is nearly double the proportion of the urban population in 1860, and about ten times as great as it was a century ago. In the North Atlantic division, including New England, New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania, the urban population constitutes about one half the total number of inhabitants. This, however, is not so remarkable as the condition of things in some of our newest States. In Washington, for example, on our extreme Northwestern border, fully one third of the inhabitants dwell in incorporated cities, mainly in the four flourishing towns of Tacoma, Seattle, Spokane Falls, and Fairhaven, which had hardly won recognition on the maps ten years ago.

As affecting the matter of municipal government, how-

ever, the census statistics are extremely defective. The population bulletins do not accurately distinguish between incorporated cities and large towns otherwise governed. No adequate information concerning the nature and structure of our city governments is obtainable from the census returns. Nor has this information been elsewhere collated, that I can discover, save as to a few of our leading cities in the admirable monographs of the Johns Hopkins series, and in an occasional sporadic magazine article. I was therefore forced to seek this information directly from the mayors of our larger cities in every State and Territory of the Union. To them I addressed circular letters, and am in receipt of about 350 interesting replies. From the information thus obtained I can only formulate a few salient and important facts, statistics, and conclusions.

Of the 443 towns of more than 8,000 inhabitants enumerated in the census bulletin before mentioned, for example, about sixty-five are not incorporated cities, but either large New England townships, which often contain several separate villages, or else they are examples of those inchoate cities which in Pennsylvania, New Jersey, and Connecticut are called "boroughs"—a term borrowed from English usage, originally meaning a walled city*—in New York, "incorporated villages"; and in other States, "towns," as distinguished from "townships," "civil districts," "justice districts," "magisterial districts," "militia districts," "precincts," "wards," and "beats"—as the minor civil divisions are variously designated in different States—which comprise definite allotments of territory without regard to population. The large towns of New England, in other States usually designated "townships," are still under the democratic administration of the "town-meeting."† The boroughs and incorporated villages possess certain corporate privileges of a simple character, and are usually governed by a small board of "trustees" or "burgesses," with a president or chief burgess at their head. Both legislative and executive functions are vested in this single representative body. In Pennsylvania, some villages of more than 15,000 inhabitants are still controlled by this simple governmental machinery.

On the other hand, there are many incorporated cities in

* This word is a survival indicative of the original militant structure of the European city. In England the "city" is the cathedral town, whatever its population or government. The incorporated municipality is a "borough."

† Sometimes, owing to their size, they are divided into several voting districts.

all parts of the country, and especially in the South and West, possessing the complete machinery of municipal government, that contain populations of much less than 8,000 inhabitants. In the Atlantic States, with the exception of Pennsylvania, cities are usually incorporated by special charters, granted by the State Legislatures, and such charters are seldom bestowed except upon villages of considerable size; though the ancient city of Vergennes, Vermont, incorporated in 1788—sometimes, though erroneously, called the smallest city in the Union—contains but 1,773 inhabitants. Under the system of special charters there is necessarily a great diversity of administrative machinery. This system prevails in our own State, though it was condemned by the able commission appointed by the late Governor Tilden, and has been more recently criticised and denounced by the committee of our State Senate of which the Hon. Jacob Sloat Fassett was the energetic chairman.

Many of the Western States, and also Pennsylvania, have general laws governing the incorporation of cities; these are usually classified in divisions and subdivisions, according to the population, all cities of a given grade being governed by the same administrative machinery. In Ohio, for example, cities are divided into a First Class, subdivided into three grades, and a Second Class, subdivided into four grades; and the law provides that any town of 5,000 inhabitants may, by a vote of a majority of its citizens, become a city of the lowest grade. There are many cities of this size in the State. Below the lowest grade of cities, villages and hamlets are also classified. In some States there seems to be no inferior limit set for the population of cities. Kansas now contains no less than 362 incorporated cities, only sixteen of them having more than 5,000 inhabitants. The remaining 346 would not be eligible for municipal honors in Ohio. Of these, 315 have less than 2,000 inhabitants, 266 have less than 1,000, and ten have less than 100! The flourishing municipalities of Avilla and Appomattox in Kansas have a total population of *thirty-four* inhabitants each—not *voters*, but inhabitants of both sexes and all ages, including paupers, criminals, and "Indians not taxed." One would suppose there should be little strife for municipal honors in these cities. Each qualified voter could appropriate two or three offices for himself, and still leave a number vacant as an inducement to immigration. In view of these facts, the advice of Horace Greeley may appropri-

ately be tendered as a soothing balm to the defeated candidates in our recent municipal contests: "Go West, young men; go West!"

Number of American as compared with European Cities.

The total number of incorporated cities in the United States, as indicated by the census bulletins, with such corrections as I have been able to make by personal investigation and correspondence, is 1,667. This number may be accepted as closely approximating the true figures. The number varies from month to month, however, and is constantly increasing. It is safe to say that fully one third of the people of the United States are now living in communities possessing a local autonomy guaranteed by corporate charters or general legislative enactments. This proportion is greatest in the North and East, least in the South. It is greatest in manufacturing and commercial centers, least where agriculture is the dominant interest, except in the remarkable and exceptional instance of Kansas.

The special importance of the problem of municipal government in the United States may be further illustrated by one or two comparisons. Though the tendency to concentrate in cities is a world-wide feature in our progressive civilization, our own rapid and, in some respects, abnormal strides in population have carried us ahead of most European nations. By the latest census the number of corporate boroughs in England was about 250. In the United States there are more than double this number of cities containing over 5,000 inhabitants. Three hundred and fifty-three cities and towns in the United States contain more than 10,000 inhabitants each. The German Empire has now about thirty cities of upward of 50,000 population; England has sixty-two; the United States has fifty-eight. We have 167 cities with more than 20,000 inhabitants; Germany has less than 100. A similar comparison might be made with France and other European nations. The rapid growth of our larger cities is not more significant than is the constantly accelerating development of our villages to proportions worthy of municipal honors. The causes of this tendency to city growth are world-wide, and as enduring as our civilization. We can not prevent it if we will, and as evolutionists we should not desire its absolute prevention, but

merely to check the abnormal rate of urban development, which is a necessary accompaniment of the wasteful neglect and impoverishment of our farming lands. We should waste no time in attempting to stem this irresistible tide by artificial measures, but aim rather, by such rational means as we can command, to ameliorate the inevitable evils that accompany the too rapid development of a tendency which in itself is civilizing and beneficent.

Variations in Governmental Machinery.

The great differences in population and territory between our larger and smaller cities naturally give rise under our methods to innumerable variations in governmental machinery. These variations furnish an admirable opportunity for the operation of the law of natural selection, and if not interfered with by unwise experimentation with socialistic panaceas, we may confidently anticipate that a form of municipal government adapted to our needs will ultimately be evolved. In the States where cities are incorporated under general laws the larger ones are usually so classified that each one constitutes the sole representative of its particular grade. In Pennsylvania, for example, Philadelphia is the only city of the highest grade, for which a population of at least 300,000 is requisite. In Ohio, Cincinnati is the sole representative of its grade, as are also Toledo and Cleveland of their respective grades. In Ohio cities entitled to advance to a higher grade by increase of population can only do so by a vote of their qualified electors. As a result of this provision, it follows that the actual population of a city by no means determines its present municipal status. Cities sometimes decline to accept the promotion to which they are entitled, to avoid the necessity of changing their form of government. This is a serious defect in general legislation when it descends to minute particulars—a defect which might in part be remedied by making the passage to the higher grades compulsory, but which it would seem better to avoid by more general and flexible enabling acts. Under this system the Legislature may grant to single cities what are practically special charters—as was recently done for Cincinnati, Cleveland, and other Ohio cities —under the form of general laws adapted to their respective grades. The Supreme Court of Pennsylvania has declared minute subdivision in municipal gradation to be

unconstitutional, since it amounts, in effect, to special legislation.

Executive Functions in American Cities.

To particularize concerning the various forms of administrative machinery in our American cities is manifestly impossible in an hour's discussion. The chief executive officer in our cities is usually termed the Mayor, and in most instances is elected by popular vote. In some cities, however, as in Jacksonville, Fla., he is chosen by the City Council. Sacramento, the capital of California—a city of more than 30,000 inhabitants—has a municipal government of the simplest possible character. The entire executive and legislative functions of the city are vested in three trustees, one only being chosen annually for a term of three years. The first trustee is Mayor *ex officio;* the second is street commissioner, and the third superintendent of the water-works. These constitute the heads of all the executive departments; and, acting together as a board of trustees, they perform all the legislative functions of the city government. This system has been in operation twenty-nine years, and the Mayor says it gives good satisfaction.

In many American cities the Mayor possesses legislative as well as executive functions, being in some instances a member of the City Council, and in others the presiding officer of the council, if a single body, or of the upper house if the bicameral system prevails; having the right to take part in debate, and a casting vote in case of a tie. On the other hand, the members of many and perhaps of most of our city councils or aldermanic boards, either as individuals or as self-constituted committees, exercise executive as well as legislative functions. In such cases the Mayor, unless he is a member of the council, is often a mere ornamental figure-head, without the veto or the power of choosing subordinate executive officials. In Ohio neither the Governor of the State nor the mayors of the cities can exercise the veto power. In Key West, Pensacola, and perhaps other cities of Florida, there are no municipal officers chosen by the people. Each of these cities is satisfactorily governed by a board of commissioners appointed by the Governor of the State. Popular government may be said to have proved temporarily a failure in these cities, owing to the peculiar character of their populations; in the homely but expressive phrase of a

leading official, it has "played out." Our national capital, the city of Washington, is likewise admirably governed by a commission appointed under the authority of Congress, after experimenting with the elective system. The circumstances of these cities, however, are peculiar, and similar methods of government are not likely to prevail generally in this country. One Western city is practically in the hands of a receiver, its mayor and council being deposed, and its government vested in a so-called board of street commissioners, appointed by the Governor of the State, pending the issue of a certain railroad litigation in which the city is involved.

Single and Bicameral Legislative Bodies.

In New England (except the State of Vermont) and in Pennsylvania the bicameral system prevails, with some exceptions, in the constitution of the city legislatures. These are usually divided into two independent bodies called the Board of Aldermen and Common Council, or Select and Common Councils. In St. Louis, where this system also prevails, they are termed the Council and House of Delegates. These bodies are generally elected by wards, the lower house being larger than the upper. No legislation can be effected in these cities without the concurrent action of both houses. It is usually assumed that this is the prevailing mode of city government in this country, at least in our larger cities. So careful a student of our civic institutions as Prof. John Fiske, in his exceedingly valuable manual on Civil Government in the United States, asserts (p. 116): "The City Council is a legislative body *usually* consisting of two chambers, the Aldermen and the Common Council, elected by the citizens; but in many of the small cities and *a few* of the largest, as New York, Brooklyn, Chicago, and San Francisco, there is but one such chamber." And Prof. Bryce, whose American Commonwealth is universally and justly recognized as the ablest exposition of the principles and methods of our Government which has yet been written, says, somewhat more cautiously (vol. i, p. 594): "We find in all the larger cities . . . a legislature consisting *usually of two*, but sometimes of one chamber, directly elected by the city voters." And again (p. 596): "The city legislature usually consists in small cities of one chamber; in large ones, of two, the upper of which gener-

ally bears the name of the Board of Aldermen, the lower that of the Common Council."

The fact is, on the contrary, that both in the large cities and in the small ones the bicameral system constitutes the exception instead of the rule. Of our five chief cities, three —New York, Chicago, and Brooklyn—are governed by a single legislative body. Philadelphia and St. Louis adhere to the bicameral system. The same proportion holds good in our ten largest cities. Of the seventeen American municipalities having upward of 200,000 inhabitants, eleven have but one legislative body and six have two. Of the twenty-eight cities containing over 100,000 inhabitants, eighteen adhere to the single, ten to the dual system. Of the 376 incorporated cities of more than 8,000 inhabitants, 294 prefer the single, and only 82 the bicameral system, while the remaining cities of the 1,600 or more in the United States are almost without exception governed by but one legislative body.

School Boards and Commissions.

In nearly all our cities the control of the public schools is intrusted to a separate body called the School Committee, or Board of Public Education, sometimes appointed by the Mayor, sometimes elected by the people, and usually possessing certain independent legislative and executive functions. As our cities have attained a considerable size, necessitating an increase in the number of administrative departments, this need has often been met by the creation of commissions, usually composed of several members, sometimes elected by the councils or appointed by the Mayor, but frequently acting independently of Mayor and Council, by the appointment and authority of the Governor or State Legislature. These commissions divide the executive functions with the Mayor, and often have certain independent legislative powers within their special provinces. Such, in the barest outline, are the leading features of the diverse and contradictory methods of governmental machinery now prevalent in our American municipalities.

Evolutionary Tendencies: Popular Government.

Looking over the broad field of municipal life in America, the impression at first is chaotic indeed; but as we study

it historically and note the trend of institutional development, certain general but well-defined tendencies will be made manifest.

Some of our earliest municipalities, like Philadelphia, and Annapolis, Maryland, were originally created as close corporations, their trustees or councilmen being appointed for life, with the power of self-perpetuation by choosing their own successors. This system was copied from that of England, where most of the municipal boroughs retained this form until 1835. It was short-lived in America, and gave place to the democratic method of election by the people, for definite terms of office, usually for a single year. Of late there has been a decided tendency to lengthen the terms of office for Mayor and councilmen to two, three, or four years, thus securing greater permanence and stability to the government. Looking toward the same end, councilmen, in some cities, are now divided into two or three classes, one half or one third being elected annually. This promotes a more thorough acquaintance of the legislators with the affairs of the city, and prevents sudden revolutions in municipal policy. Both of these tendencies appear to be in the direction of better and more stable government.

Differentiation of Functions.

In the earlier history of our cities not only legislative and executive, but also judicial functions, were often united in the governing body. The Mayor and aldermen frequently possessed, and still exercise in some cities, the functions of justices of the peace or city judges. This custom also was borrowed from English usage. There was an early tendency to the differentiation of judicial functions, which, in our larger cities, are now almost always relegated to properly constituted courts of law. Latterly there has been a decided advance in the differentiation of executive and legislative functions, tending to make the Mayor an executive officer exclusively, save when he retains the veto power as a check on hasty legislation, and to confine the council to purely legislative duties. In some instances the check upon the powers formerly exercised by the council has been carried so far as to render it almost a superfluous feature in our municipal machinery, its functions being vested in commissions, or bestowed upon the Mayor or heads of departments by legislative authority. Though, perhaps, war-

ranted to some extent by the character—or want of character—in our municipal legislatures, this extreme tendency is unscientific, autocratic, and unrepublican, and can have only a local and temporary justification in the growth of our municipal system. The differentiation of executive from legislative functions, however, seems to be a natural result of the growing complexity of our civic life as cities increase in size, and will, doubtless, continue in the future.

Abolition of the Bicameral System.

There has been a marked tendency in recent years to simplify the legislative machinery in our city governments by the abolition of the bicameral system. This system, in fact, was always local, confined mainly to certain of our older States, where it appears to have been copied from our dual State Legislatures. These, in turn, apparently derived it from the two houses of the British Parliament. In our National Congress, on the contrary, the growth of the bicameral system was natural and inevitable. The Senate of the United States has a definite status and meaning, standing as it does for the equal autonomy of the States; and the debates preceding the adoption of our Federal Constitution show that it would have been impossible to form any union at all except by the introduction of this feature in our federal system. In the city government, however, the two houses are cumbrous, expensive, and an impediment to legislation. I can not learn that this system has any general sanction in Europe—certainly not in England. "In no English borough or city," says Prof. Bryce, "do we find a two-chambered legislature."* New York and Brooklyn formerly had their supernumerary boards of assistant alderman; New Orleans, Cincinnati and Cleveland, Ohio, Camden, N. J., and other cities once governed by the bicameral system, have abolished the second board. The Mayor of Providence, R. I., last year recommended its abolition in his inaugural message. Quincy and Waltham, Mass., two of the most recently incorporated cities of that Commonwealth, have departed from the ancient New England tradition and declined to be burdened with the dual legislature; while the mayors of Fall River and Brockton, Mass.; Belfast, Gardiner, Hallowell, and Rockland, Me.; Manchester, Dover, and Portsmouth, N. H., and Scranton, Reading, and Lebanon, Pa., in the home of the

* The American Commonwealth, vol. i, p. 596, foot-note.

bicameral system, strongly urge its abolition. The argument usually raised in its behalf is that one house acts as a check upon the other in matters of hasty legislation and unwise expenditure. For this reason, as a protection to the tax-payer, it was advocated by the Tilden Commission, under the leadership of the Hon. William M. Evarts. In fact, however, the opposition of the two houses more frequently appears to encourage corrupt bargaining and legislative "log-rolling." Together with the power of confirming appointments vested in the aldermen or council, which is often similarly abused, it seems destined to disappear in the future evolution of the American city. When we reflect that the city is a business corporation and the duty of its government is simply to administer its affairs in a business-like manner for the best interests of the citizens, the bicameral system seems a superfluous absurdity. What railroad corporation, bank, manufacturing concern, or other business institution, would ever think of adopting the cumbrous expedient of a dual board of trustees or directors, one to act as a check upon the other? The prime qualities in a business enterprise are, first, responsibility; second, efficiency; and third, facility in effecting results; and these are the qualities we should aim to establish and perpetuate in our city governments.

Executive Responsibility.

As regards the executive power, the tendency is more and more to simplify our present confused methods, to make the Mayor directly responsible to the people, and invest him with the full authority of appointing the heads of departments, whose terms of office should be the same as his own. Each department should have but a single head, who should be held responsible for the action of his subordinates. The Mayor and councilmen only should be elected by popular vote. The Mayor should be subject to impeachment and removal from office by the highest court of the municipality, on presentation of the council, for any violation of law or gross abuse of his prerogatives. In English cities the Mayor never possesses the veto power, nor is he directly responsible to the people. He is, in fact, with other executive officers, the creature of the council, which controls the city as Parliament controls the nation, with no check save those interferences that Parliament itself imposes. These are often sufficiently serious, claiming as it

does the right to dictate the terms of contract with private corporations—as in the matter of street illumination—and to bestow independent powers of legislation on the boards of trade. Our experience is, I think, confirmatory of the wisdom of giving the veto power to the Mayor, and of so defining it that he may veto a particular objectionable feature in a public ordinance or law without imperiling the entire enactment. This is in harmony with our general theory of government, which, while guaranteeing plenary powers, limited only by the terms of the organic law, implies a direct responsibility to the people. This system is really more democratic than one which multiplies elective officers, and divides and dissipates responsibility.

Appointment and Tenure of Subordinate Officials.

The recognition of the city as a business corporation, to be administered on business principles, also implies the selection of clerks and subordinate officials for character and competency as a merchant would choose his employés, instead of their appointment as a reward for political services. This system has made great advances in recent years, though we are still far from its general recognition. Such appointments should be made under sensible and practical civil-service regulations, having due regard for character and special qualification for the duties to be undertaken, as well as for general intelligence. Subordinate officials should hold office during good behavior, being responsible to the heads of their respective departments, and removable by them for cause. Surliness of demeanor, and lack of promptness, politeness, and accommodation in serving the public—virtues now conspicuously lacking in officials possessing a political "pull"—should constitute an all-sufficient cause for removal. The civil service of the city would thus open up a worthy career for all ambitious to enter it—a life-work as secure in its tenure as that offered in mercantile or professional occupations, instead of being, as now, an asylum for decayed politicians.

Divorce of Municipal from State and National Politics.

Heretofore our elections for municipal officers have usually been conducted by means of the partisan machinery of

national politics. It is evident, however, that the qualifications for the position of mayor or alderman do not depend at all upon the judgment of the candidates concerning national political issues. "When the true essence and meaning of the modern city shall be generally comprehended," says Prof. Levermore, "there will be a wondrous reformation in city administration. A mayor will be chosen as a railway corporation chooses its superintendent—for good character and business ability—and there will be no more attention paid to his views about the tariff or States' rights than to his opinion concerning predestination and original sin."* The increasing independence of our voters in municipal elections shows, I think, a distinct tendency toward the recognition of this common-sense principle, though we are far enough yet from its complete realization. We shall always have a politics of the municipality as well as of the nation, and we shall have parties in our municipal contests; but the diverse issues of national and city policy should be kept entirely distinct. With this end in view, city elections should be held at a different date from State and national elections. The obvious objection to this proposition is the cost of holding an additional election, but these need not occur oftener than biennially, and the result, I think, would be worth all it cost. This complete divorce of municipal from national politics would do much to break up the disgraceful deals and wholesale trading of votes between political bosses and machines which have so often disgraced our elections.† While we must continue, perforce, to use the machinery of national politics in our city elections, the salvation of our municipalities lies mainly with the independent voter. All which has thus far been gained in this country for pure government in our cities has been gained by the action of the independent voter. To cultivate the spirit of independence in men of all parties—to induce them to work outside the machines, carefully avoiding third-party affiliations, for common patriotic ends, thus finally forcing the machines to accept the policy of reform, and ultimately to commit *felo de se* for lack of the spoils of office—should be the endeavor of all the earnest friends of municipal progress.

* "To elect a city magistrate because he is a Republican or a Democrat is about as sensible as to elect him because he believes in homœopathy or has a taste for chrysanthemums."—John Fiske, in Civil Government.

† "It is worthy of note that the degradation of so many English boroughs and cities during the Tudor and Stuart periods was chiefly due to the encroachment of national politics on city politics."—*Ibid.*, p. 135.

Restoration of Home Rule.

The tendencies thus outlined and already at work, though far from complete realization, are all, I think, in the direction of a business-like, economical, non-partisan municipal system. In order to facilitate the attainment of this end, however, we must say to the State: "Hands off!" and demand and secure the privilege of working out our own municipal salvation, free from the petty interference of charter tinkering, special legislation, and the bucolic administration of city affairs. To this end, all special legislation for cities, including the granting of charters, should be forbidden by constitutional amendments, as in the case of other corporations organized under general laws. The Legislature of New York adopted, I believe, some three hundred and fifty-seven pages of amendments to city charters, and other special legislation for cities and villages, during the session of 1890.* This constitutes fully one third of the entire legislation for the year. It ought to be engaged in better and more appropriate business. The State Legislatures should be authorized to pass enabling acts for the incorporation of cities, whose provisions should be general in their character and sufficiently flexible to meet the requirements of different localities and populations, permitting each city, under certain uniform conditions, to create its own administrative machinery. The right of local self-government should be distinctly recognized, and, if necessary, guaranteed by constitutional provision. The change from State to local control in municipal administration is in the direction of true progress as indicated by the social philosophy of evolution, tending as it does toward the liberation of the individual and community from the minute supervision of the central governmental authority. Local self-government is alone consistent with the preservation of individual liberty.

Convention for Consultation: A Suggestion.

To secure as far as practicable a uniform system, the wisest possible in its provisions, for the incorporation and government of cities, a general convention might be called to which each State and each city containing upward of ten thousand inhabitants should be entitled to send a delegate. These

* Relating to cities, 207 pages; to incorporated villages, 150 pages. (Statutes of 1890.)

delegates should include the most careful students of the science of government, as well as a fair proportion of practical business men, so that the best thought of the time may be brought to bear upon the problem. Their consultation should be deliberate, taking into consideration all the complex features of our municipal life; and their final recommendations would doubtless have great weight when properly brought before our State Legislatures, provided that the natural laws of development were recognized in their investigations and in the formulation of their conclusions. This, however, is merely a suggestion by the way. I have no expectation that this question can be finally settled in caucus or convention. Such an assembly would be chiefly useful in concentrating public attention and as a mode of public education.

Suffrage: Minority Representation; the Property Qualification.

Whatever may be the future form of our city government, in regulating the choice of aldermen or councilmen, some well-considered plan of minority representation is exceedingly desirable, if it be not an absolute necessity. The selection of these representatives should be taken out of the corrupt stream of ward politics, and an opportunity should be given for the choice of at least an influential minority of intelligent and incorruptible men. The proposition to limit the number and improve the quality of the electors for city officers through a property qualification seems to me both unwise and impracticable; nor is any tendency in this direction observable in our politics. It is unwise because it creates a new class of irresponsible citizens outside the body politic, whereas our salvation from political evils lies in increasing direct individual responsibility among all classes of the people. Wendell Phillips may not have been always a safe counselor in public affairs, but his assertion that "an ignorant body of voters is a dangerous class in the community, but a similar body disfranchised is more dangerous," seems to me a sound bit of political wisdom. An extension of suffrage under our form of government, as universal experience shows, is an evolution which never goes backward. A class once enfranchised can never be disfranchised save by a revolution which would produce greater evils than it would be designed to cure. The steady tend-

ency in this country is toward the abolition of property qualifications, as recently shown in Rhode Island. As a matter of fact, it has not been found a protection against the prevalent evils of municipal administration. Historically, as Prof. Jameson has shown, it is a relic of the period of Edward VI of England, where it was introduced with the express object of creating a social distinction between the rich and the poor. In this country some qualification of this kind was formerly quite general; now it is exceedingly rare.* In England, and on the continent of Europe, though some such restriction still generally prevails, there has been a constant tendency in recent years toward the widening of the franchise in the direction of manhood suffrage, thus far with no evil results.

In his recent lecture before the New York Historical Society, President Low, of Columbia University, than whom we have no more conscientious and conservative student of city government, declared that since 1850 there had been a marked advance in the city of New York in many respects. The present charter, he says, is a great improvement on previous ones. Substantially the same causes of complaint existed forty years ago as now, some of them in an aggravated form. "It was popular," he said, "to attribute the shortcomings of the city government to two things—universal suffrage and immigration. Yet in 1850 there was not universal suffrage. It could be stated that the government of the city, resting on restricted suffrage, was not satisfactory at a period when immigration had not contributed anything to the result. There had been great improvement since 1850 in the matter of elections. Repeating had been largely put down."† The judgment of this wise and careful observer agrees with my own, based on a residence in the cities of New York and Brooklyn of more than half the period covered by his survey. Mr. Emerson says that "at short distances the senses are despotic." An acute sense of present ills often prevents us from recognizing the actual progress that has been made. The condition of things in New York at the present day is hardly as bad as that in Philadelphia, but even in the latter city it is doubtful whether it is worse than it was formerly. Before the adop-

* The property-qualification may yet have some *raison d'être* in our Southern States, and in communities possessing large illiterate populations; yet even here a proper educational qualification will usually be more just and equally effective.

† N. Y. Times Report.

tion of manhood suffrage there was great political corruption in the City of Brotherly Love. It was the common practice, we are told, for the members of the Council to award all lucrative contracts to themselves.*

The educational influence of the ballot and the political campaign is great and beneficent, even on the most unintelligent voters, and I am not yet prepared to declare manhood suffrage a failure in our cities. England has gone a step beyond us in one respect, granting municipal suffrage to women who are single or heads of families on the same terms as men; and it is noticeable that Mr. Spencer, though taking a conservative and somewhat pessimistic view of this whole question, and deprecating the extension of parliamentary suffrage to women, carefully excludes the municipal suffrage from the range of his objection.† I can not learn that any party in England favors the withdrawal of this privilege. The presence of intelligent women on our school boards, also, can but have the most beneficent results. When our public schools are happily removed from the contaminating control of politics, women will doubtless find their proper place and influence in their management, as they already have in many of our cities.

Limitations of the City's Corporate Functions.

With the recognition of the city government as a business corporation, and the readjustment of our municipal politics in accordance with this idea, certain questions of a practical character bearing upon the proper limitation of its corporate functions will doubtless press forward for consideration. Indeed, they are already clamoring for attention. Should the city own its own plants and conduct its own work in the matters of public illumination, street-cleaning, the control of street-railroads, etc., or should it assign these duties to private corporations and individuals? Under the prevalent methods of machine politics, municipal rings, and general maladministration of public affairs there are grave objections to the enlargement of the office-holding constituency, and abundant grounds for assuming that the public would be best served by private contractors, provided their selection can be fairly secured, without party favoritism or

* See Philadelphia: a History of Municipal Development. By E. P. Allinson and Boies Penrose (Johns Hopkins University Pamphlets).

† Justice. Chapters on The Rights of Women and The Constitution of the State.

official participation in the spoils of the public service, and provided also that they render a proper compensation to the city for their privileges. With the reform of our administrative methods and the purification of our civil service, however, this particular objection would be removed. The solution of these questions would be left for decision in the court of experience. The Spencerian evolutionist, on general principles, is in favor of leaving public service as far as possible to individual enterprise. He holds with Prof. Gunton that government "should be the guardian of the interests of the community without assuming business responsibility." The average citizen, however, cares little for theory; his judgment is influenced mainly by ascertained experiential data. Under the law of relativity, even the evolutionary sociologist can hardly object to the rigid application of such tests.

Municipal Lighting. Important Facts and Statistics.

According to statistics gathered by Mr. Sylvester Baxter, of Boston, and the Advance Club of Providence, R. I.,* an organization which has no partisan bias or other interest than that of promoting the true welfare of that city, the experience of twenty-four American cities which own and control their electric-lighting plants, as compared with one hundred and thirty-one representative cities which are served by private corporations, shows that the cost by the former method is only about one half the price paid for private service. These figures, however, have been vigorously contested by Mr. M. J. Francisco, in a paper read before the National Electric Light Association.† Mr. Francisco claims that important items in the cost, including interest on the value of the plant, annual depreciation, salary of necessary employés, etc., have been omitted in the statistics furnished by cities owning their own plants; and that a fair estimate, based on records obtained from fifty cities, including all or nearly all those quoted by Mr. Baxter, and more than as many more, shows that the expense of public management is at least as great as that for private service. Mr. Francisco's estimates for Chicago, where the system of municipal lighting prevails, were, however, at once denounced

* See Advance Club Leaflets, Nos. 1, 2, and 3.
† See Report in Electrical World, August 30, 1890.

as unreliable by Prof. John P. Barrett of that city, an electrician of eminence and a gentleman of acknowledged probity. Due allowance should be made for the natural bias of professional electricians, not in the employ of a municipality, against the system of public lighting, and, on the other hand, for the fact that the pleas in its favor are usually urged by gentlemen who have no practical experience in electrical affairs, and who may be influenced by a socialistic bias.*

Statistics, apparently reliable, show that in Great Britain about two hundred municipalities manufacture their own illuminating gas, and cities like Birmingham and Manchester reap a profit of about a quarter of a million dollars a year from private consumers, besides giving them extremely cheap gas, and securing free illumination for municipal purposes. In Glasgow, private consumers are furnished with excellent gas at sixty-six cents per thousand feet, while that city not only lights its public thoroughfares, but also, as a police measure, all common halls and stairways in tenement-houses, at small expense. In Berlin "the municipal gas-works yielded, at last accounts," says Mr. Baxter, "something like eighteen per cent of the entire annual expenditure of the city as a profit." † In Great Britain, where the cities are dependent on special acts of Parliament for the authority to own and conduct their gas and electric plants, and where Parliament, by special legislation, minutely specifies the conditions under which they shall deal with private corporations, it is said that gas-owning municipalities are unduly slow in introducing electricity or other improvements.‡ As to the relative economy of public and private ownership, however, the accessible evidence seems to bear strongly on the side of public ownership.

Control of Street Railways.

The control of the city over its streets and public thoroughfares also implies the right to own and control the street railroads, if this system is found to be more satisfactory and economical than that of grants to private corporations. If the latter method is preferred, however, for theoretical or other reasons, the contracting corporations should

* Mr. Baxter, we are informed, is an ardent "Nationalist," or advocate of the socialistic theories of Mr. Edward Bellamy.
† Berlin: a Municipal Study. By Sylvester Baxter.
‡ A Plea for Liberty.

pay the city well for their privileges. This all experience shows that they are abundantly able to do. No repetition of the Broadway railroad steal should be tolerated for a moment in any American city. In Toronto, Canada, where about seventy miles of street railroads are in operation, the contractors are bound to pay the city $800 per mile for every mile of single track, and $1,600 per mile for every mile of double track operated, in lieu of which amount the contractors voluntarily offered the city the gross sum of $136,000 per year; and, in addition, they are also bound to pay the city eight per cent on their gross receipts up to $1,000,000 per annum; ten per cent between $1,000,000 and $1,500,000; twelve per cent between $1,500,000 and $2,000,000; fifteen per cent between $2,000,000 and $3,000,000; and twenty per cent on all receipts above $3,000,000 per annum.

Some European cities own the railroad tracks, and lease them to corporations running the cars; in this way, by the conditions of the lease, controlling the paving, cleaning, and care of the streets, preventing overcrowding in the cars, and limiting the fares in the interest of the public.

The Sewage Problem and our Food Supply; Startling Facts.

The question of the care and disposal of the public sewage is also one of immense practical importance, not only to the city, but likewise to the surrounding agricultural districts. Here, indeed, we strike down to those general laws which affect the welfare of the whole community, laws which are physical and biological, as well as local and sociological, in their character. Under the methods at present prevailing in this country, as Mr. Skilton has shown, our cities are rapidly exhausting the resources of the land, and this in turn compels an abnormal flow of population from the country to the city. That which should be returned to the soil for its enrichment is emptied into rivers, contaminating the sources of our water and ice supply and propagating the germs of disease, or into the ocean, where its effects, if less injurious, are still ruinously wasteful. This is unquestionably true, though it may be a fact, as Prof. Atwater claims,* that to some extent sea-vegetation is nour-

* The Food Supply of the Future. By W. O. Atwater. Century, November, 1891.

ished thereby, and this, becoming the nutrition of fishes, improves our food supply derived from the seas; while some portion of the free nitrogenous elements may be, as he asserts, restored to the soil through the atmosphere.

So abundant are the resources of Nature, when supplemented by the aid of chemistry, that I have no apprehension of any immediate impending danger of a complete failure of our food supply; but the abandonment of farms in New England, in our own State, and even in communities farther West, on account of the exhaustion of the soil, and the still greater evils of this sort notoriously exemplified in the South, as graphically described by Prof. Mason and Mr. Skilton,* should warn us against all unnecessary waste. Nor are these local effects the most serious evidences that this exhaustion is already bearing heavily on the vitality and prosperity of our people. Dr. Milner Fothergill, in his suggestive monograph on The Town Dweller, calls attention to the physical deterioration of people living in cities, which in the second and third generation induces an actual inheritance of impaired vitality. And Prof. Atwater, a competent chemist who has thoroughly investigated this question, traces much of this deterioration to the sources of our food supply By estimates, founded on numerous experiments, he assures us that, by reason of the exhaustion of nitrogenous elements from the soil, all our grains and food-products grown in this country have actually deteriorated from twenty-five to forty per cent or more in their proteins or tissue-making elements, as compared with similar products of the soil grown in European countries. This entails a like deterioration in our meat supplies, and also in our own bodily tissues. This is surely a matter of supreme importance to the present and future populations of both city and country. That this waste can be prevented by the imposition of tariffs or export taxes, as Mr. Skilton argues, I do not believe, since his method fails unless the products of the soil are actually consumed and their fertilizing excreta deposited *in situ*. This is, of course, utterly impracticable. The remedy must be sought in other and more scientific ways, as it has been sought and discovered in Europe.

In the city of Glasgow, which owns its sewage plant and conducts its own street-cleaning and sewerage service, a

* The Land Problem. A Lecture before the Brooklyn Ethical Association. By Prof. Otis T. Mason, Curator of the Department of Ethnology in the National Museum, Washington, D. C., with discussion by James A. Skilton and others.

considerable revenue is derived from the sale of manures, obtained from these sources, to farmers twenty miles around; by this means the fertilizing elements are restored to the neighboring soil, and the cost of this entire service, in a city of over 600,000 inhabitants, is reduced to about $190,000 a year, or thirty-five cents *per capita*.* Brooklyn pays rather more than three times as much, and New York *eight* times as much, according to recent statistics, † for the same service performed in a vastly inferior manner, and with no precaution against this destructive waste. The comparison between our own and many continental cities would be similarly instructive. Such facts should put our American cities to shame, and spur us forward to better things.

State Socialism; Methods of Taxation.

However it may be in England, where the conditions of parliamentary control and interference greatly modify the problem, as is shown by the writers in A Plea for Liberty, in our own country the recognition of the right of the municipality to control its own gas and electric systems, its street railroads, and its sewage plants, should not necessarily be regarded as a step in the direction of state socialism, when compared with existing methods. Our present system is not uniformly one of contract with competent parties under free competition, but often of special privileges exclusively granted to private corporations which have a political "pull," generally with no adequate compensation to the public, whose servants they are. The change would simply involve the resumption by the citizens of their individual and corporate rights as against private corporate monopolies. Nevertheless, the consistent evolutionist looks askance upon all propositions for the assumption of public control over matters which can properly be left to private enterprise. This entire question should be scientifically investigated in all its aspects, with reference to the ultimate as well as the immediate effects of public ownership, before this policy is finally determined upon.

There is no reason why, even under our present methods, many existing evils should not be speedily abated; why, for example, our streets should not be cleaned, and ashes and garbage removed from our houses, exclusively by night; nor

* Glasgow: a Municipal Study. By Albert Shaw. Century, March, 1890.
† See Census Bulletin No. 82, issued June 22, 1891.

why this service should not be as well done in New York and Brooklyn as it is in Glasgow and Berlin. Nor is there any excuse for the continuance of our present crude and inequitable methods of municipal taxation. There surely should be sufficient civic and financial wisdom to invent an equitable method of levying and collecting taxes in place of the unjust methods now in vogue. Every one familiar with our system of taxing personal property knows that its results are farcically inequitable; it is scarcely better, in fact, than a legalized system of blackmail on those who are honest enough and innocent enough to make true returns of their taxable property. Great abuses have also arisen in connection with the forced sale of real estate for the nonpayment of taxes. The abuses of taxation on personal property place a strong argument in the mouths of the advocates of the single tax on land values, which at least has the merit of simplicity, and ease and certainty of assessment. It appears to be open, however, to grave objections on the score of equity as applied to municipal taxation. Mr. Potts has shown from statistics, the accuracy of which has not been successfully questioned, that it would bear with unjust severity on the poorer classes in our cities, since the ratio of the value of improvements to that of the land is greater in the wealthy than in the poorer neighborhoods.* Some system more equitable and economical than the present, however, is surely devisable. The whole subject of municipal taxation needs thorough scientific analysis and investigation.

Individual Character and Good Citizenship.

Looking deeper than all these questions of civic machinery and administrative methods, we are thrown back at last upon the more serious and fundamental problem of the best ways of developing the physique, intelligence, character, and conscience of the individual citizen. The poorest system will yield reasonably satisfactory results under a wise, intelligent, and conscientious administration, and the best will fail under a corrupt administration. How to get good public servants is our most serious difficulty, and back of this is

* These statistics are derived from Boston and other Massachusetts cities, where the value of the land is estimated separately from that of the improvements. This system of assessment should be introduced everywhere. See Evolution and Social Reform: the Socialistic Method. By William Potts, in Brooklyn Ethical Association Lectures on Sociology.

the prime necessity of getting good citizens, actively interested in public affairs. Our problem is unquestionably rendered more serious than that of European cities by the rapidity with which our city populations change, through immigration, which introduces a vast foreign element, often ignorant and debased, always unacquainted with our modes of thought and life and with our political institutions, and also from other causes. It may be said with truth, however, that if our intelligent, well-to-do American-born citizens took a vital interest in public affairs, the desired reformation of abuses might be speedily accomplished in spite of this difficulty. It is a notorious fact that they do not, as a rule, manifest such an interest. This, as Dr. Andrews assured us,* is the most serious form of anarchism which we have to combat—far more serious than the anarchism, the ignorance, or the depravity of the foreign-born population. What is the cause of this apathy of the well-to-do citizen? Where shall we look for its cure?

The City and the State: Home Rule as a Cure for Apathy.

This apathy, as it relates to municipal affairs, is doubtless in part due to a serious defect in our system—to the fact that the city is the creature and puppet of the State, practically deprived of its right of self-government. It must appeal like a pauper to the State Legislature for privileges which every New England town enjoys as a fundamental right. Its citizens have no guaranteed security for home rule, no opportunity for direct criticism and discussion of municipal policies, no real responsibility for the management of their own affairs. The vitality of our American system resides in the immediate contact of the voter with the problems of local government, as in the New England town meeting. This makes him directly responsible for results, and educates him for the duties of citizenship. So long as the State possesses the power of charter-tinkering and constant interference with the city's affairs, so long as our political machines usurp the proper functions of the individual, this direct influence and responsibility of the citizen is impossible. Our municipal affairs are, therefore, at the mercy of partisan cliques and rings, often operating

* The Duty of a Public Spirit. A Lecture before the Brooklyn Ethical Association, by E. B. Andrews, D. D., LL. D., President of Brown University.

at the State capital, remote from the surveillance of the citizen. The intelligent voter sees this and is discouraged.

Legalized Primaries and Ward Councils.

The constitutional guarantee of local self-government which I have already recommended should, therefore, be supplemented by the legalization of the primary assembly at which nominations are made, throwing around the voter in the preliminary caucus and convention, as well as at the polls, the protection of the secret official ballot. Every possible moral influence and increase of responsibility in governmental methods should be brought to bear on the voter to induce him to take an active interest in public affairs. In Berlin citizens are fined or imprisoned for declination of office. This, however, is a feature of the dominant militantism in European cities which Americans would not, and evolutionists should not, tolerate. We should stimulate the interest of the voter by increasing his direct responsibility and influence on public affairs. Each ward or district from which councilmen are elected should have its public hall or ward room, as in some of our Eastern cities, where, upon a designated day, at least once a month, the citizens should meet their representatives for consultation, counsel, and instruction. In this manner, and by the legalizing of the primary, much of the virtue of the town meeting may be restored to our municipalities. The primary and ward meeting would become educational influences of great value, preparing the voter for the higher duties of citizenship. Here the laboring man would meet the capitalist on terms of perfect equality, and each citizen would have his due weight and influence in shaping the public policy. Social classes would learn to know each other better and to respect each other's motives. Causes of social friction and distrust would be removed or alleviated. The light of public discussion would be thrown upon all jobs and underhanded methods in municipal legislation, and corrupt practices would thus be nipped in the bud.

If the ward meeting should be termed a "Council," and the central representative body the "Legislative Assembly," these designations would properly indicate the respective functions of those bodies. In the first, the voters would consult directly with each other and with their representatives, and, if necessary, instruct the latter as to their will

in matters of public policy.* The second or representative body alone would possess legislative powers. Instead of emasculating the legislative body of its functions, as has been latterly attempted, it should be invested with all the authority possessed by the trustees or directors of a private corporation, subject only to the veto of the Mayor and the provisions of the general law governing such bodies, thus adding to the dignity and responsibility of the office and making it worthy of the most intelligent and respectable incumbency. If necessary, the right of the Assembly to create indebtedness should be limited by general law, and an annual budget of expenditures prepared by duly authorized officials, as a check on municipal extravagance. The principle of the *referendum*, or submission of important public measures to the popular vote, might also be introduced under proper restrictions. These precautions would be far less demanded, however, under the system of responsibility herein advocated than under our present irresponsible methods.

Some of the foregoing propositions, if taken separately and independently, will doubtless be regarded as open to criticism; but it should be remembered that they are intended to act co-operatively; and so viewed, they will be found, I think, parts of a consistent whole. After the signing of our Declaration of Independence a delegate said to Benjamin Franklin: "Now we must all hang together!" "Yes," was the reply, with a suggestive gesture, "or we shall all *hang* separately." So, if any of these suggestions, when taken separately, seems worthy of summary execution, let the critic first examine whether it *hangs together* with the rest.

Summary of Natural Remedies.

It should be evident, I think, from the foregoing considerations, that the problem of municipal government is but a part of that larger social problem which is pressing upon us for solution; that it can not be wholly separated from conditions which arise outside our cities, and to which it is vitally related. Like the larger social problem, its ultimate solution depends upon the improvement of individual character and intelligence. Like it, its roots reach down into the very soil beneath our feet, and depend for their nourish-

* This would permit the voter to take the initiative in the introduction of public measures, as in the system prevailing in the Swiss cantons.

ment not only upon the laws of human nature, but of physical nature also. City waste impoverishes country vegetation, and this in turn fails properly to nourish the inhabitant of city and country alike. Agriculture thus becomes less lucrative, and thousands of farm laborers are forced to seek the city for a living, causing an unnatural congestion of population at the urban centers. Bad air, bad drainage, poor food, insufficient sunlight, and lack of equally distributed physical exercise help to undermine the constitutions of city dwellers, so that their children enter the world dwarfed and with impaired powers of digestion and assimilation. That physical ills react upon the mental and moral stamina of the people we can not doubt. From a tenement-house and bar-room atmosphere we can only expect tenement-house and bar-room politics. If we want good citizens, we must cultivate the *mens sana in corpore sano.* To offset the tendencies to vital deterioration which now prevail we must have wider streets, better houses for the poorer classes, open to the light and air, more numerous and extensive parks—the lungs of a great city—and, above all, easy access by rapid transit to suburban homes. We must have good schools for our children, wherein due attention is paid to physical and moral culture, manual training, and the duties of citizenship, as well as to the training of the intellect. We must have purer foods, supplying all the materials essential for healthful nutrition. We must restore to the soil those vital elements necessary to the growth of our food supplies. By systematic exercise, scientifically devised and applied, we must offset the lack of all-around physical development necessitated by our civic life. A German poet has truly said:

> "E'en from the body's purity
> The mind derives a secret, sympathetic aid."

And so this higher creation of physical manhood shall help us in our efforts rightly to solve the problems of society.

The American City in the Future.

Looking at the narrower problem of municipal administration, we see certain well-defined tendencies in the evolution of our political methods already at work, and along the lines of these tendencies, in so far as they offer opportunities for the free activities of the individual citizen, must we seek its rational solution. These tendencies indicate that the future

American city will be a natural growth, not an artificial creation; that it will adapt itself to the structure and genius of our democratic institutions; that it will reclaim the right of self-government which was an original endowment of our local communities; that it will exercise this right in accordance with business principles, not as a mere annex to the machinery of national politics. It will simplify its methods by the abolition of supernumerary boards, commissions, and dual legislative bodies; it will abolish unnecessary elective offices and clothe its executive with the full power of appointing the heads of municipal departments, thus making him directly responsible to the people. It will open up a career for those who are laudably ambitious to serve the city, by making permanent the tenure of subordinate positions, subject to removal for cause; while it will completely differentiate executive from legislative functions in our larger cities, restoring to the Government the full powers and responsibility belonging to the trustees of a corporation. Such a responsible government, resting upon the will of the people, inviting and receiving the free criticism and advice of the citizens in the ward or district councils, will be readily responsive to an enlightened public sentiment, and embody its will in a policy at once economical and progressive, worthy of the most advanced civilization of the age.*

* I am indebted to the Hon. Hiram Howard, of Providence, R. I., for wise suggestions, and the opportunity of access to important statistical information, bearing on the problem of municipal government. My thanks are also due to the mayors of many of our American cities for valuable information in regard to local municipal methods.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISCUSSION.

HON. JOHN A. TAYLOR:

I regard the lecture to which we have listened as a most valuable contribution to the literature of this subject. I find nothing in it with which I substantially disagree. I will therefore supplement it by calling attention to some elements which make our present municipal methods ineffectual. First, there is the lamentable ignorance, on the part of the citizens, of the workings of the city government. I will undertake to say that in this intelligent audience there are not more than five men who could name the aldermen who legislate for the city; and I doubt if there are as many who could name the aldermen for their own and adjacent wards. I also undertake to say that I could easily choose from this audience five men who would give us a better government than we have ever enjoyed in this city. Yet the faults of our administration are not wholly due to those who fill our municipal offices.

We often blame officials for faults that are inherent in the system. There is much unjust criticism of public officers. We are inclined to expect impossibilities of a man because he holds office. It is true, however, that our municipal government has been largely given over to the professional politicians. A person accidentally stepping into a meeting of the legislature of this city would be surprised to learn that these men had the administration of the affairs of the city in their hands. He would be likely to suppose himself in some brewers' association, with a lunatic or two and a few Mugwumps thrown in by way of variety.

One reason that we have this kind of business is that the better class of citizens who occasionally step in and try to effect reforms are too slow. In October they say: "Let us have a meeting of the decent men, and nominate a better class of candidates." They send out notices, meet, resolve, and then find out that in the previous September primary meetings have been held in which it has been practically determined who is to be mayor and who are to be the aldermen. The greatest absurdity in our present situation is the admixture of national politics with city government. It is ridiculous that a man's view on bimetallism should influence his vote for a man to clean our city streets.

Our crude system is the natural outgrowth of the present state of

civilization in our country. The absorbing thing with men is to better their condition, and they can not afford to attend to the government, which is therefore remitted to a small class of politicians. This is in part necessitated by the complexity of the system—and then we, at our leisure, berate the officials. There is no panacea for the evils noted. In a general way, the remedy is to make the citizens more worthy, to cultivate patriotism, and not ignore the fact that there is just as much patriotism among the ignorant voters and practical politicians as among the well-to-do who stand aloof from the machine. There is something in the idea of going back to the town-meeting system, and substituting for the meeting of all the citizens in one place, which is impracticable, a division into small districts and the selection in each of one person delegated with the power of two or three hundred. The advantage of the town meeting was that there each man counted for all he was worth in character; he was weighed as well as counted.

We need to cultivate a municipal spirit—a civic pride in that which pertains to our own city—to feel that our city is the best spot on earth, to be proud of our neighborhood and willing to work for it and protect it.

HON. CHARLES S. FAIRCHILD:

I have but little to say in criticism or opposition, and, like Mr. Taylor, I shall be obliged to speak upon the subject somewhat generally. First, of the tendency of population to our cities. I have been looking at the census of my native county, Madison. The total population of the county has diminished about 1,200 in ten years. At the same time the villages of the county—there are no cities—increased over 4,000. Hence there has been a decrease of rural population of from 5,000 to 6,000, or about seventeen per cent. A large portion of this population has gone away from the county, and another large portion into the villages. I notice the abandonment of small holdings of lands. There used to be plots of from three to five acres within a mile or so of the villages owned and occupied by laborers, who, when otherwise unemployed, worked on their land. These are being abandoned, and the people are crowding into two- or three-story houses in the villages. This being the general condition of things, the problem of municipal government is most important and vital to the people of this country.

I have thought how strange is the evolution of government from that primitive condition which leaves the settlement of questions of right between one's self and one's neighbor in one's own hands, and that where other powers step in and alter the relations. If the three men on this platform owned one thousand acres of land, we

might lay drains, build roads, and perhaps houses for the laborers to live in, as we saw fit. But if we went on building houses and letting them, presently the drains would become sewers; the roads, streets; lanterns, lamps; the well a system of pipes from the spring or lake on the hillside. The people would get a city charter, and then all the management would pass from our hands into theirs. This is inevitable and necessary; but there is nothing in the management of such affairs from first to last that is properly called government; it is business.

One of the greatest of municipal problems is how to educate the people. I do not mean the education that comes from books or schools, or even through the newspapers; but the kind which comes from personal contact of one man with his neighbors. In a small community one man may influence all the others, while in New York the same man may not exert the same influence even on fifty others. We separate ourselves according to our means and taste, and are deprived of almost all the education which comes from association. In our village of 2,000 inhabitants, in the election of trustees there is no thought of politics; yet in national affairs the political feeling is very intense. In connection with charitable organizations, with which I am familiar, I see no solution of this problem. Guilds, college settlements, etc., tend in the right direction, but are woefully inadequate. The plan suggested to localize affairs is good. Let the people in a certain portion of the city, for instance, see that the streets of that part are kept clean. There are difficulties in the way, such as the duplication of plants, etc., but there is no objection sufficient to overcome the great advantage of any system that would give this mutual contact and education. The prevailing lack of confidence of the poor in the wealthy might be supplied by the village association which we have lost.

HON. JOSEPH C. HENDRIX:

I am reminded of the dying man who called his son to his bedside and said: "My son, I have had an awful lot of trouble in my life, but it never amounted to anything." Undoubtedly, we have a good deal of trouble with our city governments; but I do not think it amounts to much, after all. Napoleon said that three fourths of government was in the imagination. There are defects, of course, in our Government, but we have difficulties also in our households, in our business, and everywhere. We should not approach these questions forgetting that we are dealing with people of flesh and blood, with the usual human frailties. The people whom we call the lower class have a keener interest in the affairs of the city than some of the others. The representatives whom they choose are more above the level

of the population than the representatives of the better portions of the city. The dangerous class is not the great mass of poor and uneducated, but the respectable class, the *laissez-faire* people, who want to enjoy the benefits of our institutions without working their passage. They engage in fashionable frivolities, and send money to the heathen, and find fault with municipal affairs which they do nothing to remedy. Things are pretty well managed now in our cities. We can not expect the results which have been attained in European cities. If we attempted to keep our city in the condition of Paris by the methods of Paris, the people would rebel. There is much to be done, but much has already been done. Those in the community who should set the example neglect their duties. If all the gentlemen here and the rest of their standing should attend the primaries that are to be held this week, the so-called professional politicians would pull down their signs and go out of business.

MR. WILLIAM POTTS (in the Chair):

It is not practicable for all men to go to the primaries, for, in order to do so, one must be a member of the party organization. If he has voted independently in the previous election, he would be black-balled and disqualified.

DR. JANES, in closing: I sympathize with the optimism of Mr. Hendrix, but do not agree with him that our present methods offer adequate opportunities for the cure of existing evils. In one respect I am even more optimistic than he is—I believe that we *can* have our streets as clean and our business as well managed as in European cities; but not while we tolerate the present absurd admixture of national and municipal politics.

The first speaker favored small representative districts. This would probably be an improvement, but if the system were purely representative, as at present, the method would still be wholly inadequate. We should then have a large and cumbrous body of representatives to deal with, and the city would be split up into numerous sections with a variety of interests and administrative regulations. I should favor districts somewhat larger, with a consulting assembly of the whole people in each, and a single legislative body for the entire city. Ward or district assemblies would in a great measure restore the educational influences of the town meeting which is the ideal of Mr. Fairchild; and they can be restored in no other way. This is undoubtedly one of the most serious elements in our problem, which I have endeavored in this way to meet. Such voluntary associations of the citizens as this in which we are laboring should also spring into existence all over our

great cities, aiming to stimulate thought and encourage wise activities along scientific and evolutionary lines. The churches afford the opportunity—but are they wise enough thus to reduce their religion to practice? In the consulting assemblies we should receive assistance from the poorer and less educated classes, and the manual laborers, who, as has been truly said, are often our superiors in civic virtue. I think, therefore, if the plan which I have suggested, which seems to be already in process of evolution, could be carried out—including the vital feature of the popular consulting assembly—we could have the virtues of the town meeting restored, and the different classes of our citizens would learn to know each other better, and to respect each other's motives.

A more ethical treatment of the land, which would render agricultural pursuits remunerative, would stop the excessive flow of population to our cities and somewhat relieve the congestion of our urban centers. Men seek the cities because they think—and they are usually right—they can make a better living there. The cityward flow can not be checked unless we can greatly improve the prospects of the farmer. That it can be altogether checked or reversed, even in this way, I do not believe to be either possible or desirable; but we are undoubtedly suffering at present from a forced and unnatural tendency in this direction, for which I can see no remedy except that already indicated.

TAXATION AND REVENUE

THE FREE-TRADE VIEW

BY

THOMAS G. SHEARMAN

COLLATERAL READINGS SUGGESTED:

Spencer's Justice; Mill's Principles of Political Economy; McCulloch's Principles of Political Economy; Walker's Political Economy; Taussig's Tariff History of the United States; Ely's Problems of To-day; George's Protection or Free Trade; Fawcett's Free Trade and Protection; Bastiat's Sophisms of Protection; Wells's Practical Economics; Talbot's Tariff from the White House; Wright's Scientific Basis of Tariff Legislation; Sumner's History of Protection in the United States, and Protectionism the "ism" which teaches that Waste makes Wealth; Trumbull's The American Lesson of the Free-Trade Struggle in England; Atkinson's *Common Sense of the Tariff Question*, in Popular Science Monthly, August and September, 1890; Tariff Message of President Grover Cleveland.

TAXATION AND REVENUE:

THE FREE-TRADE VIEW.

By Thomas G. Shearman.

What is free trade?

It is simply one application of that general law of human liberty upon which our American republic is founded, and which lies at the basis of all modern civilization. It is the recognition of the right of every man, not only to life, but also to liberty and to the pursuit of happiness in his own way, so long as he does no injury to the similar rights of others.

The right of free trade means the right to exchange the products of our industry with the products of others, without any dictation on the part of the state as to the persons with whom we may or may not exchange, so long as our transactions are not inconsistent with good morals and good order.

These rights being conceded by our own people as to transactions between each other, free trade has come to mean in our country simply the extension of the same liberty to our foreign commerce which is secured to our domestic commerce. It may therefore, for the present purpose, be defined as the right of every citizen of one country to trade with citizens of every other country as freely as he may with his own fellow-citizens.

Commerce between different nations is one of the highest developments of evolution. In the earliest stages of the human race there could have been no trade, because each family was isolated. As soon as the smallest clan was formed, exchanges of products must have come into use; and so trade began. With the successive formations of the tribe and the nation trade extended its sphere; but it was kept within narrow limits by the universal prevalence of that savage feeling which for ages made the name of "stranger" mean the same thing as "enemy." Every thoroughly savage tribe has always maintained the most thorough protection to its native industries by the strict ex-

clusion of all foreign competition. The savages of interior Africa and Brazil are far better guarded from the flood of foreign goods than we can ever be; and no products of foreign pauper labor ever disturb the symmetry of their domestic manufactures. Poisoned arrows supply the place of a tariff, and clubs are more effective than navigation laws.

The evolution of human society and the evolution of trade have gone on side by side. The one is impossible without the other. A family, a tribe, a village community, a city, a state, a nation, among whose members there is no exchange of products or services, is an impossibility. It has never existed and can never exist. But the elimination of the savage element has been slow; and therefore even trade between different towns has only become free within a comparatively recent period. Trade is not entirely free even yet between all the cities of France or of Italy or of Germany. Little more than a century ago France had scarcely any free internal trade.

But wherever social organization has reached its full development, as in the United States and Great Britain, trade between all members of the same society is absolutely free. Some of our own States are backward in civilization; and there it is noticeable that efforts are still made to hinder trade with other Americans, which have to be resisted by our national Supreme Court. Where civilization has reached its highest point no such efforts are made.

The widespread inclination to restrict trade between foreign nations is simply a survival in civilized man of the prejudices of his savage ancestors. There is no argument made in opposition to free trade between America and England which is not at least equally applicable to free trade between Massachusetts and the Carolinas. Is free trade injurious to America because wages in England are lower than here? Wages in the Carolinas are lower still. Or is it because the rate of interest is lower in England than here? The difference between rates of interest in Massachusetts and the Carolinas is greater still. So Massachusetts seems to need protection against the Carolinas on account of their pauper labor, while the Carolinas need protection against her on account of her lower rates of interest, greater capital, and longer experience.

Should the fact that Englishmen do not pay any of our taxes have any weight as an argument against free trade? Then it applies with far more force to the other case; for

taxes in Massachusetts are much more heavy than in the Carolinas, and certainly the Carolinas do not help to pay Massachusetts taxes.

The tax argument, the labor argument, the interest argument, the argument from the advantage supposed to attach to long experience—in short, all the arguments used to justify the prohibition of free trade between Massachusetts and Lancashire—apply with double force to condemn free trade between Massachusetts and any Southern State.

These differences have always existed. They were far greater than now when, in 1814, the Carolinas were ready to invade Massachusetts in order to keep her in the Union; or when, in 1864, Massachusetts did invade the Carolinas to keep them in the Union—that union having no material advantage to either side, except as a guarantee of mutual free trade.

Thus we Northern philosophers organized a powerful army to shoot Virginians into accepting free trade with us, while we maintain a small army on our frontier to shoot Canadians who attempt free trade with us.

Free Trade a Part of Christianity.

The simple obvious truth is that the only substantial foundation for the prejudice against free trade among the vast majority of those who entertain it is that instinctive hatred of foreigners which we inherit from our barbarous ancestors of remote ages. Let the sweet wisdom of Jesus prevail—let Christians once practice his precepts of universal love, and there would not be an hour's question as to the establishment of free trade.

For Tolstoi has beautifully shown the true meaning of those words of Jesus: "Love your enemies." Jesus meant what we understand by those words; but he also meant something more. The words "enemy" and "foreigner" meant originally the same thing. So Jesus reminded the Jews that they had heard it said: "Thou shalt love thy neighbor and hate the foreigner." Against this he declared: "Love the foreigner. Yes! love your foreign enemies. Yes! love *all* your enemies, whether native or foreign."

Again he amplified and illustrated the command—"Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself"—by teaching plainly that the word "neighbor" was to include foreigners; and not merely friendly foreigners, but also the most hateful, hostile,

detestable foreigners—the Samaritans, whom the Jews hated even more than we hate the pauper labor of Europe.

Free trade, as a principle, is an inherent part of Christianity. No one can be a logical and consistent Christian without being also a free-trader. A Christian love which does not take every human being into its clasp is by just so much *not* Christian. One may be a good family man, and love none but his family. He may be a good citizen, yet love only his own city. He may be a good patriot, yet love only his own country. But he can not be a good Christian unless his love takes in the whole world and seeks the best things for every human being. Fortunately for all of us, illogical and inconsistent Christians are not shut entirely out of the Kingdom of God.

Suppose Jesus should return to earth to-day, settling in some European city. He would be an artisan, as he was 1900 years ago. He would almost certainly be engaged in manufacturing some articles suited for export to this country. Suppose this fact were known, and, while American pilgrims thronged by the hundred thousand across the ocean, to kiss the hem of his garment, our devout President Harrison, who believes that Jesus is very God of God, should find before him a little McKinley bill, imposing a tax of 400 per cent. on the productions of the Divine Artisan. What should he do? Sign a bill the inevitable effect of which would be to drive into starvation his Lord and Master? Sign it for that very purpose—with that deliberate intent?

I put this question once to a Calvinistic Doctor of Divinity; and, after much wriggling, but with a very red face, he declared that he would do just that thing. I respected his logic, if not his principles, and only drove the lesson home by quoting the words of his Master: "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me."

Free Trade dictated by Self-interest.

The moral aspect of free trade is to me the supreme consideration; and no argument which ignores this makes any impression on my mind. But since there are, unfortunately, multitudes of nominal believers in a Divine Father to whom the brotherhood of man is an empty phrase, possibly a repulsive one, and multitudes of nominal republicans

who love liberty only for themselves, it is necessary to descend to their level and to show that free trade is dictated not only by religion and morality, but also by enlightened self-interest.

Free trade means simply freedom for *yourself* in commercial affairs. To insist that foreigners shall set themselves at liberty before we will accept liberty for ourselves is what is called reciprocity, or fair trade. Secure absolute freedom for yourself, and you will secure free trade for your whole country. Deny free trade to your country, and you are forced to reduce yourself to partial slavery. This is precisely what happens under the system of restriction. For the sake of depriving your fellow-countrymen of liberty, you first of all deprive yourself.

Restriction upon trade is unpatriotic. The only nation which we can exclude from the liberty of commerce is our own. The only way in which we injure other countries by commercial restrictions is by inflicting greater injury upon our own. For no one is really anxious to *sell;* the desire of every one is to *buy*. Selling is an unpleasant necessity, imposed by natural law, as a condition of buying. The very peddler who besieges you with clamorous offers to sell you oranges would be only too glad if you would let him take your dollar without selling you a single orange. Your grocer would be delighted to keep his groceries for his own family if you will only let him buy his clothing and fuel from you, without asking him to sell you anything in exchange. Your very servant girls would gladly accept all the food and clothes which you will give them, without the disagreeable necessity of selling their services. I repeat: No one wants to sell; every one wants to buy.

Therefore, when we put a tariff on imports across the path of commerce, we simply put fetters on our own country. No foreigner wants to send his goods to us; he would much prefer to keep them himself, if only we would pay for them without receiving them. The reason why he dislikes our tariff is that he finds from experience that he can not buy from us if we will not buy from him. He sends us nothing but what we want to have; and when we refuse to take it, we are so much the poorer. The foreigner suffers, it is true; but only because our self-inflicted poverty makes us unable or unwilling to send good things to him.

Our exports are so much lost to us; our imports are so much gained. If we could receive imports without making

any exports, we should grow rich and lazy. Nature wisely prevents us from thus falling into idleness, by making it impossible for us to import without exporting an equivalent.

But how can both sides grow rich by foreign trade, if we export as much as we import? Simply because what we export is of less value to us than what we import; while it is of more value to foreigners than what they send to us in exchange. Thus, Americans raise more wheat than they can possibly consume; and all the surplus is absolutely useless to them. But German artisans make more cloth than they can wear, and this is useless to them. The Germans want the wheat, and the Americans want the cloth. The exchange is very profitable to both sides.

This exchange of products, which goes on continually, is to the civilized social organization what the circulation of the blood is to the body. If stopped entirely, civilization perishes. If artificially obstructed in any way, society becomes diseased. Nobody states this more strongly than Henry C. Carey, the great apostle of American protectionism. He puts it in large words, saying that the progress of civilization depends upon the rapidity and freedom of societary circulation. But this, translated into plain English, means nothing less and nothing else than that the prosperity of every nation depends upon the freedom of its trade.

How, then, does the greatest protectionist justify protection? By insisting that trade will not be so free, if left to itself, as it will be if guided by legislation. Because exchanges between places near to each other can be made more rapidly than between distant places, he maintains that the rapidity and freedom of trade will be best promoted by laws partially prohibiting trade between countries remote from each other.

If this is true, then the rapidity and freedom of the circulation of blood in the human body will be promoted by tying up some of the arteries, so as to save the loss of time and energy involved in the journey of blood from the head to the feet. Let the blood of the brain be kept for use in the brain; and blood in the feet confined to the feet, instead of losing the time occupied in the long journey from one to the other.

You answer that Nature takes care of this, far better than we can. But it is equally true that Nature takes care of

trade and commerce, far better than we can. Can any one of us give useful advice to any one else as to where he should buy or sell? Can any congressman, or all Congress together, tell your wife which is the best place for her purchases of groceries or clothing? Can any number of men, be they ever so wise, despotically guide your affairs for you without bringing you to ruin?

How can any Congress have wisdom enough to do for the whole country that which it certainly can not do for you alone? Yet you, who would not tolerate the dictation of Congress as to where you should buy one suit of clothes, accept as a matter of course the dictation of Congress as to where 60,000,000 of us shall all buy all our clothes.

The Wages Argument.

The most effective argument for restricted trade in this country is that our highly paid laborers need a tariff to protect them from the competition of foreign pauper labor. And we are often told that the protective tariff is maintained for this purpose alone. Considered as an argument for a tariff on goods manufactured by machinery (and it is from the manufacturers of such goods that our protective system receives all the support which gives it any vitality), the absurdity of this claim can be shown by any one of many simple facts. Some of these facts answer the claim as to all classes of articles.

Every tariff is a tax upon anything which is imported under it. When protectionists deny that the tariff is a tax, they mean that it is not a tax upon Americans. Their claim is that the tax is paid by the foreigner who sends the goods here. When $200,000,000 have been annually collected by our Government from the tariff, it is clear that it is a tax on somebody. We need not waste time upon any one who is so dull as not to see that. If this enormous tax, amounting to more than half the market value of the goods, is really paid by foreigners for the privilege of selling here, then these foreigners would make a profit of 50 to 100 per cent upon their goods, if the tariff were repealed. We may be certain that such profits would draw a rush of capital into such profitable employment, and that competition would speedily reduce profits to less than ten per cent. Three Brooklyn firms would do the whole business for a profit of five per cent. Therefore, Americans would quickly get all the benefit of a

repeal of their tariff. So they lose just as much by making the foreigner pay these taxes, as if Americans paid all the tax themselves.

But it is utterly absurd to suppose that foreigners pay the whole tariff tax. No half-intelligent protectionist writer pretends that this is true. The utmost claim that is honestly made in this direction is that foreigners pay about one third of these taxes; and even this is not true. But, true or false, it makes no difference. Americans either pay the tariff taxes themselves, or they could gain the same amount by the effects of competition, if the tariff were repealed; and in either case the result is the same.

Americans, therefore, either pay directly the whole of this tax or lose the same amount, through the exclusion of competition. What class of Americans bear this loss? Seven eighths of it falls upon the laborers—the very class for whose benefit you say that the tax is laid. For the amount of duties collected from other classes, by means of taxes upon imports, never amounts to enough to pay one tenth of the Government expenses. So you make the laborers pay all the taxes by which their wages are to be increased. Would it not be better to leave them untaxed, to take their chances as to wages?

The competition which is feared by American manufacturers does not come from those countries in which wages are lowest. What manufacturer of cotton, woolen, or metals is in danger of competition from the ten-cent labor of China or the twenty-five-cent labor of Russia? What Northern manufacturer was ever afraid of the competition of Southern slave labor? Our manufacturers would gladly consent to free trade with any country where wages are below thirty cents a day. It is the seventy-cent labor of Germany and France which makes them anxious; and it is the dollar-and-a-quarter labor of England of which they stand in terror.

All over the world a low rate of daily wages means inefficient and therefore costly labor. The higher the average rate of daily wages, the smaller is the cost of production. This is always true of machine products, and is largely true of everything else. The employer of slave or pauper labor really needs protection against the products of free and well-paid labor. All over Europe every protective tariff is avowedly framed upon this principle.

The free importation of all goods would instantly produce a great rise in wages. Suppose free trade were established

to-morrow. Suppose $500,000,000 worth of goods were imported next year, in addition to those now imported—a most extravagant estimate. How would these be paid for? Not by bank notes or greenbacks, for no foreigner would accept these. Not in gold, for we could not send out any more than we send now; and, moreover, foreigners can not eat gold or wear gold any more than we can. They would want our grain, our flour, our cotton, our beef, our pork. Our farmers would be made rich. The price of manufactured goods would be reduced, of course. But, at lower prices, the mass of the people could and would buy vastly more. Manufacturers might have to be content with smaller profits on each sale; but this would only make them anxious to multiply their sales. At least $500,000,000 worth of domestic goods could be sold, at the lower prices, in addition to what were sold before. Wages would rise rapidly upon farms, because of the immense demand for farm products with which to pay for the new imports. Wages would rise also in factories, because of the vastly greater demand which would be caused by the fall in prices. Wages never rise merely because prices are high. They rise only when employers make more goods. And every permanent fall in prices widens the demand for goods.

It will be said that all this is mere theory. But it is exactly what happened, on a smaller scale, in 1847, when a small reduction was made in protective duties. And precisely the reverse happened when tariff taxes were increased in 1842, 1861, 1883, and 1890. In each instance the general rate of wages fell at once, and the prosperity of the country was manifestly checked. The twelve months immediately following the adoption of the high tariff of 1890 have been the most disastrous to the general business community, outside of large corporations, for the last thirty years. The number and amount of private bankruptcies were the largest in all American history.

To exclude foreign goods is simply to exclude so much wealth. How can wages be made any higher by having less wealth to divide all around? It will be answered that domestic production will be reduced by as much as the imports amount to. This is absurd, because these imports must and will be paid for immediately by American goods produced from American soil, by American laborers receiving the American rate of wages. For every dollar's worth of foreign goods imported, a dollar's worth of purely American

productions must be exported. It is absolutely impossible that any American laborers could be deprived of employment by imported goods in excess of the number who will gain employment from the same cause. Reasons have been given to prove that many more will gain employment in this way than can lose it. Therefore wages can not possibly be reduced by free trade, while it is almost certain that they would be greatly increased.

The Diversification of Industries.

The gentleman who is to follow in this course, on behalf of protection, abandons the wages argument as quite untenable, and plants himself on the older Hamiltonian theory of the necessity of restriction upon commerce in order to secure diversity in our industries. Passing over the undeniable fact that the growth of wealth and rise in wages were much more rapid in California and Australia, when they had practically only one industry, than they ever were before or since, let us mention only a few of the diversified industries which every one can see must exist in this country under absolute free trade.

It would be utterly impossible for all the nations of the world to supply a hundredth part of the things furnished or services rendered by our farmers, cotton-growers, meat-producers and packers, fruit-growers, bakers, grocers, tailors, dressmakers, milliners, carpenters, masons, plumbers, builders, merchants, retail dealers, teachers, doctors, clergymen, domestic servants, clerks, railroad men, stage and wagon drivers, repairers, day laborers, etc., who constitute more than nine tenths of our people.

The census enumerates nearly 500 different employments deemed of sufficient importance to be worthy of separate statistics. And, as it does not distinguish different classes of farmers, of cotton manufacturers, woolen manufacturers, etc., from each other, while, as we all know, each of these classes represents many distinct branches of business, it is safe to say that there are more than 1,500 easily distinguishable and distinct forms of industry in our country. Of these, more than 1,400 would be carried on successfully if free trade were established to-morrow, and the worst anticipations of any sensible protectionist were realized. What need is there for artificial methods of diversifying industries when we can have 1,400 varieties, without any government interference?

Indeed, the ablest protectionists, such as Governor Hoyt, of Pennsylvania, have abandoned the old-fashioned argument that foreigners would, under free trade, supply us with all or with any considerable part of the manufactures which we need, and insist, as strongly as we do, that nine tenths of our manufactures must be made at home or not at all. But they then jump to the conclusion that American manufacturers would be driven out of business altogether by foreign competition, and that, as foreigners could not and Americans would not supply us, our people would have to go without clothes and other manufactures. The utter absurdity of this conclusion, however, ought to be palpable to a school-boy. The moment that all or most American manufacturers stopped their supply, under this terrible apprehension of a free-trade panic, the deficiency in supply would become so great as to send prices up tremendously. Would the American producers be so silly as not to resume work forthwith under such prices? The simple fact is that, if it were possible for this imaginary free-trade panic ever to occur, shutting up all American mills, it would be followed within twenty-four hours by such a rise in prices as would cause a buying panic, reopening every American mill and setting its machinery at work with greater activity than ever.

Indeed, the probabilities are decidedly in favor of a greater diversity of industries under free trade than under a restrictive policy. For so-called protection never begins with creating an industry, but always begins with destroying or crippling several. It prevents, and is meant to prevent, some American citizens from carrying on occupations from which they earn their living. To begin with, it deprives American ships of a large part of their cargoes, and thus drives some of them out of business altogether. Then the demand for new ships falls off, and shipbuilders are thrown out of employment. American importers, store-keepers, cartmen, laborers, salesmen, and clerks are thrown out of work, because the foreign goods which they formerly handled are excluded. Thousands of such persons are thrown out to-day in these two cities in this very manner. Scores of large houses are going out of business now in this way. As three quarters of the things which are or would be imported are used as materials for manufactures of some kind, the exclusion of these things throws out of work all the mechanics and artisans who were employed in working them up. The very first effect of any increase of protective taxes,

therefore, is to throw men out of work, to reduce wages, and to make industries less diversified than before. No doubt, in many cases, after the lapse of some time, Americans who have thus been thrown out of work learn to make at home the things which they used to import. But they are not as familiar with this new work as they were with the old; and a crowd of foreigners pour in, to whom the new business is familiar, and who secure all the best places. So well recognized is this fact that the alien labor law expressly allows foreign laborers to be imported under contract for a new industry. So that, whenever the tariff really does succeed in encouraging a new industry, and thus diversifying our industries, all the benefit of it, so far as workmen are concerned, goes to freshly imported foreigners.

The tariff does just as much toward diversifying our industries as would a cyclone which tore down our factories and diversified the labors of the factory hands by forcing them to turn hod-carriers and helpers to more experienced builders. Its benefits are of the same kind as those which have come from the twelve thousand bankruptcies which have followed the McKinley tariff. For the hundred thousand people thus thrown out of work have been driven to diversify their industries, after an agreeable vacation from work, from wages, and from the usual comforts of life.

The Argument from Cheapness.

The defenses interposed for the system of fetters and chains upon commerce are so contradictory and inconsistent as to make it almost impossible to follow them. The very same orator who at one moment tells us that a cheap coat means a cheap man inside the coat, at another moment tells us that protection has made coats cheaper than they ever were before. Another, who solemnly informs us that cheap goods mean cheap men, and that this was not the kind of republic which our fathers builded or which their sons will maintain, is jubilant over the alleged extreme cheapness of wire nails, steel rails, and salt. When we answer one of these arguments, we are reproached for not having answered the other; and if we answer both, a third is brought forward, with apparent entire unconsciousness of the fate of the first and second.

Cheapness is not a bad thing: it is a good thing—an ex-

cellent thing—a grand thing. It is at once the achievement and the life of modern civilization. The most costly coats cover the most worthless men. The cheapest coats have the most valuable men inside them. The coat of the savage and the cloak of his squaw are, in comparison with their resources, enormously expensive. They have cost more time and labor than the finest coat in this room has cost its maker or owner. Even among civilized men we see the same law working out. The philosophers, the scientists, the inventors, the really great statesmen, all wear cheap clothes. The gamblers, the rakes, the idle and worthless nobles who cumber the earth, all wear expensive clothes. The more feather-headed and useless is a woman, the more expensive is her clothing. Many wise and sweet-hearted women are compelled to dress themselves in more costly raiment than they desire, because they fear that some man, unworthy of their love, but whom they can not help loving, will not love them unless he sees the outward signs of graceful feminine feather-headedness.

The very object of all inventions, of all progress, of all practical science, is to make things cheaper and cheaper. Civilization, Christianity, all movements for the uplifting of mankind—even ethical societies—advance only as cheapness advances. For cheapness means that the benefits of art, science, literature, morality, and religion are put within the reach of the masses of men. The one man, Dr. Campbell, who forced the Queen's printers to issue cheap Bibles fifty years ago, did more for the cause of the Christian religion in England than all the bishops that ever lived. The man who can invent a method of building, so cheap that every family can afford its own little separate home, with room for the children to play and the mother to rest, will do more for the promotion of good morals and sound religion than all the preachers and Sunday-school superintendents combined. Every step toward cheapness is a step toward heaven. For what is our ideal of heaven? Simply a place where every good thing may be had, as the good book says, "without money and without price."

So our protectionist friends swiftly eat their words and declare that they are the best friends of cheapness, and that their great aim in taxing us one hundred per cent. is to make things cheaper. They point to the great fall which has taken place in all manufactures and assume that this is entirely the result of their big taxes. To this there are sev-

eral conclusive answers, only part of which can be even suggested here.

This fall in the price of manufactures is the result of constant development of machinery, and goes on, all over the world, wherever machinery is largely used, whether protection or free trade rules the state. It is most rapid where the nearest approaches are made to free trade. Protection only hinders this progress toward cheapness; and the sincere and intelligent advocates of protection avow that it is intended to do so. They assign reasons for this policy which it would take too much time to follow here. Suffice it to say now that obstructions to freedom of trade never did and never can encourage the invention of new machinery, and therefore never promote cheapness.

As a matter of fact, the decline in prices has been more rapid and steady in England under partial free trade than in America under protection. In the vast majority of cases protected manufactures have never been sold here as cheaply, for any important length of time, as in England. But unprotected manufactures—that is, those upon which either no duty has been levied, or one entirely inadequate to compensate for the tax on materials—have fallen in price here as much as anywhere. Thus aluminum, while imported free of all tax, was made in this country by improved processes until it has fallen from $20 a pound to $1. Quinine, under free imports, has fallen from $3 an ounce to 40 cents, and still more is made in this country than ever before. Road wagons and farming machinery, which always have been entirely independent of foreign competition, because foreigners never could learn to make what we want, and which have, therefore, derived no benefit from tariffs, have declined in price as much as other articles. Tin plates, which have never been made to any appreciable extent in this country, because the materials of which they were made were too heavily taxed, declined in price until the McKinley bill was introduced, as much as any other kind of sheet iron or steel. On the other hand, pig iron, bar iron, steel, glass, and many other highly protected products have fallen in price in Europe much more than they have here. Such cheapness as we have, therefore, is not due to protection.

Many articles the cheapness of which is loudly extolled are not even now, after many years of invention and improvement, furnished as cheaply to us as we might have had them years ago under free trade, and, of course, not at all

as cheaply as they might now be had. This is true of nearly all forms of iron, steel, glass, earthenware, woolen and linen goods, besides many others. Much of the boasted cheapness of clothing consists merely in the degraded quality of its materials. Not one American in ten wears a genuine all-wool suit. Not one in a hundred wears such a suit made of American cloth. When a Massachusetts free-trader complained in Congress that American makers of all-wool goods were handicapped by heavy taxes on wool, the leader of the protectionists informed the House, quite correctly, that by far the most of "all-wool" American goods consisted of shoddy and cotton.

The enormous and permanent cost of any cheapness which could be attained through protective taxes fails to be understood, because not one person in a thousand knows anything about the effect of compound interest. Whatever we pay this year for the sake of getting things cheaper in future years must be reckoned at compound interest until the time of cheapness arrives. Then we must gain so much in cheapness as to compensate us for all that we have lost, with compound interest. A French mathematician has calculated this for us. At the end of twenty-five years of protection, if we are to gain anything from it, we must save three and a quarter times as much, every year and *forever*, as the amount which we annually lost.

Take, then, the single article of iron and steel. The price of these metals has been increased for more than twenty-five years to the amount of, at the very least, $40,000,000 annually by a protective tariff. The mere Government tax has averaged about $15,000,000 a year. Well, the twenty-five years are up, and does any one pretend that we are saving $130,000,000 a year on the prices of iron and steel? On the contrary, we are still paying at least $30,000,000 a year for these metals in excess of what we could have them for under free trade. And it is only within the last two years that we have got iron as cheaply as we had it thirty years ago, before this wonderful cheapening tariff tax was put on.

The Historical Argument.

Driven completely out of the field of reason, the enemies of freedom take refuge in the historical argument. They say that free trade may be very well in theory, but that it will not work in practice. They assert that history shows

that prosperity has always accompanied the slavery of commerce, while disaster has always come from freedom. They claim, as a fact beyond dispute, that the development of manufactures and increase of wages have come with commercial restrictions and as their effect, and that every step toward freedom has hindered both.

It is, in the first place, utterly absurd to say that any theory is correct which will not work in practice. If the enemies of freedom can not prove in argument that freedom necessarily must bring with it those disasters which they pretend that it actually does bring, they simply confess either that they have not intellect enough to explain the facts, or that the facts are due to another cause, or that the pretended facts do not exist.

In the next place, the alleged facts, for the most part, do not exist. And finally, so far as there are any such facts, they are due to other and totally different causes.

No disaster has ever happened to this or any other community, as a whole, from free trade or from any step in that direction. Disasters have befallen individuals from that cause, of course. Every step toward freedom of any kind brings disaster to those who have been living comfortably on other men's shoulders. Emancipation brought ruin to slave-holders, as such, but it has brought immense prosperity to the South. So the abolition of protective taxes brings loss to those who have been making fortunes from the tribute of their fellow-citizens, but it brings gain to all the others. It has injured a very few hot-house branches of manufacture, but manufactures, as a whole, have flourished under freedom more than ever.

Disasters have happened and will happen to the entire community under free trade as well as under protection, without doubt. The free-trader does not pretend to have a panacea which will prevent failures of crops, pestilence, storms, or wild speculation. He offers you nothing but your own liberty. Accordingly, when the terrible drought of 1854, lasting for three months, diminished our wheat crop and destroyed half of our corn, while cattle had to be slaughtered wholesale for want of water, no free-trader expected anything but that which happened—a sudden and severe depression of business until the next crop was assured of success, after which prosperity returned in greater force than ever. Again, in 1857, when the wheat crop was a comparative failure, when a wild spirit of speculation in

vacant land and premature railroads had swept over the country, and wildcat banks poured forth a worthless currency, neither free trade nor protection, nor anything which human wisdom could devise, could prevent a panic from coming. Yet, if the banks of New York city had not acted in a spirit of blind selfishness, and had shown half the courage and good sense which they showed in 1890 or in 1884, under much more imminent danger, they could have passed through 1857 without suspension.

And the panic of 1857—the only panic which ever took place under a low tariff, except, of course, that of December, 1860, caused solely by the secession of the South and the evident approach of war—passed over more quickly than any of the panics which have repeatedly occurred under the high tariffs of the last thirty years. Its effects were not visible in the general prices of the next year, except in iron; and by 1859 all manufactures, including iron, were going on upon a greater scale than ever. The years 1859 and 1860 were by far the most prosperous years which our country had ever known, especially in manufactures. This is the testimony of the census, and also of Senator Morrill and President Garfield.

Contrast with this brief interruption the fearful record of the five years of high tariff from 1873 to 1878—each worse and worse—the three years from 1883 to 1886, and the black year which has just passed under the McKinley bill, marked by greater destruction among business men, outside of the great railroad corporations, than any year in American history.

The panic of 1837 is constantly cited by those who know nothing about its history. It occurred under a tariff higher than the Morrill tariff; and it was directly brought about by the enormous surplus which had accumulated under excessive duties, levied avowedly for protection, which had to be squandered in loans to land speculators, to get rid of it. The result was, first, the wildest, most gigantic, and most insane speculation in vacant land ever known in our history, and next, as a matter of course, the worst collapse. Such collapses always did and always will follow excessive speculators in land values, which usually follow inflations of the currency. I can afford to be candid and to say that great panics are caused by currency inflations, almost exclusively, and that protective tariffs are generally responsible for panics only so far as they bring about an accumulation of surplus

and a consequent inflation or contraction of currency. But free trade never is or can be the cause of anything of the kind.

The steadily increasing wealth and prosperity of the United States, in spite of the maintenance of a high tariff, are easily accounted for upon free-trade principles; and they can not be accounted for in any other way consistently with the facts. For the fact is that this country has, in spite of its tariff, a greater amount of free trade than any other country, and that its trade grows more free with each succeeding year, except in those years in which a great increase is made in tariff taxes, the effect of which may take a year or two to neutralize.

We have a larger territory of productive land than any other civilized nation. This territory has the greatest variety of products of almost any country in the world. There are greater differences between the races of people inhabiting it, between the rates of wages, the rates of interest, the amount of capital, the experience and skill in manufactures and the fitness of the people for manufactures, in the different districts of this country, than those which exist between this country as a whole and England, or between England and France. The reasons which might be adduced against free trade between different sections of the United States are much stronger than any which can be adduced against free trade between America and Europe. Yet we have here absolute free trade within our own national limits; and we all recognize its immense value so well that we would fight to the death rather than sacrifice it.

The so-called protection afforded by a tariff is simply the effect of its obstruction to trade. The absence of ships and roads would afford a vastly more effective protection to domestic producers against foreign competition than the most protective tariff ever imagined. With every new steamship or railway, with every invention which cheapens transportation, with every new facility given to commerce, the protection afforded by the tariff is cut down. Sixty years ago the cost of carrying English iron to Pittsburgh was $80 a ton. It can now be sent there, duty paid, for $10 a ton. Yet the manufacture of iron has increased around Pittsburgh more and more rapidly, exactly as this natural and most efficient protection was destroyed by improvements in transportation. Thirty-one years ago, under a duty of less than $2.50 per ton, it cost much more to get English iron to Chicago than

it does now under a duty of $6.72. Illinois, Michigan, and Wisconsin are far less protected now than they were under the lowest tariff of American history. Yet the iron manufacture has grown at a tremendous pace under this rapid removal of the old protection. Oddly enough, if there is any truth in the protective theory, the manufacture of iron and steel is dwindling in the only parts of our country where the increase of duties has not been completely neutralized by natural causes, while it has grown with giant strides in those sections where the high tariff of the last thirty years has been nullified by cheap transportation.

Moreover, if the infant industries of the West needed protection against Europe, they needed far more protection against the competition of the experienced, wealthy manufacturers of the Eastern States, with all the advantages of abundant capital, low interest, long experience, and cheaper labor. Yet the infants of the West have paid double rates of interest and fifty per cent higher wages, and still have so effectually beaten the old-established giants of the East, under absolute free trade, that three fourths of the iron and steel manufactures have gone West of the Alleghanies, and the iron manufactures of the East are said by one of their foremost representatives to be "in the throes of dissolution." In New England they are practically dead. Here is a historical demonstration that, under free trade, manufactures tend to go where wages and interest are high and the business, as well as the country, is new.

I do not censure protectionists who are unmoved by the historical argument, because I could not be convinced by it myself, even if it appeared to sustain the theory of restriction. The historical argument has always been used effectively against freedom; but no true lover of liberty ever allowed himself to be moved by it. In ancient times the historians and philosophers could not conceive of a state without slavery. No such state had ever existed; and therefore none such ever could or ought to exist. In my early days we were overwhelmed with historical arguments for slavery. Statistics showed that wealth grew rapidly, that military power was developed, that men were more manly and white women more virtuous under slavery. So, in Europe, history was made to show the vast advantages of despotism over freedom Carlyle devoted his utmost energy to setting forth the folly of giving votes to base mechanics, and the supreme wisdom of putting the life, liberty, and

property of every nation at the absolute mercy of one wise man, whose wisdom was to be judged only by himself. Until a very recent period, all the literature of this question of liberty was on one side, and that the side of despotism and slavery. Yet where was the man who was ever convinced that he ought to be a slave? Where is there one to-day who will acknowledge that he could be convinced by any argument, theoretical or historical, that he ought to be a slave, and that his wife and children ought to be the chattels of a wise master? Where is the American who could be convinced by any argument that this country should be placed under the government of a benevolent czar? Where is the American who can be induced to listen to any argument in favor of even allowing Congress to decide whether he shall be a freeman, whether he shall have the right to earn a living in his own way, to spend his own earnings, to select his own clothing, to choose his own religion, to marry the woman of his own choice? A divinely planted instinct rebels against all reasoning upon such subjects, and demands liberty, no matter what historians, or philosophers, or statesmen, or scientists may say to the contrary. And while all these classes of wise men once condemned this universal human instinct as insane and absurd, they all now agree that on these questions the plain people were right and the wise men were wrong.

Arguments against human freedom in any form and upon any ground, whether historical or otherwise, are necessarily false and empty. It would not be of the smallest importance if it could be shown conclusively that the wealth of the community increased more rapidly under slavery than under freedom; no, not even if the slaves themselves enjoyed more of the comforts and luxuries of life than they could if freemen. The moral dignity, the mental strength which come from freedom, and which can never come under slavery, far outweigh all possible considerations on the other side. It is just as certain that freedom of trade, which is an indispensable part of human liberty, is a right, the loss of which can not be atoned for by any conceivable increase of wealth either to the community or to the individual. It is a question of manhood, which admits of no compromise. If I have a right to choose my own method of earning an honest living, I have an equal right to exchange my products with those of every other human being. To forbid me to exchange at all would be the same thing as to forbid

me to earn anything, for my products have no value whatever if they may not be exchanged. To put restrictions upon my right to exchange is precisely the same thing as to restrict my right to produce. It is partial slavery, and should be resisted and denounced as such, with no toleration for any of the plausible excuses by which total and partial slavery have in all ages been defended.

Free Trade Indispensable to Social Reform.

I have thus sketched, with extreme brevity, the argument for free trade from the standpoint of international morals and from the standpoint of general national prosperity. But these considerations are far from being the most important practical ones, because the human instinct for free trade is strong enough to override obstructive laws and largely to nullify all tariffs. Our tariff does not probably cost us, as a nation, in mere loss of foreign trade, as much as ten per cent. of our annual earnings. The great crime of our tariff is that which is inherent in every tariff. It is the most ingenious and effective means ever devised for the plunder of the poor and the enrichment of the rich. I do not now refer merely to the direct robbery of the poor for the benefit of the rich, through so-called protective and prohibitory measures. I refer to the whole system of indirect taxation, which is founded upon tariffs and could not exist for a day without them.

Indirect, or, as I always prefer to call it, crooked taxation, was invented in days when the mass of the people had, as a famous bishop boastingly said, "nothing to do with the laws except to obey them." It owed its origin to the grasping desire of despotic governments and their agents to extort as much as possible from the people. The wealthy classes had a power of resistance which made it dangerous to push them very far. The tax-gatherers attempted to collect direct taxes from the people at large, but found the task too laborious and costly; just as in Boston to-day the collection of poll-taxes from the poor costs more than the entire receipts from the poorer class. Then it occurred to them that, by taxing the food and clothing of the people, they might compel the poorest to pay tribute out of their misery. As soon as the new idea was put into practice it was found that taxes upon consumption were productive of far greater revenue, with far less resistance upon the part

of tax-payers, than any form of straightforward taxation which had ever been tried. So it was very acceptable to tax-gatherers.

After a short experience of crooked taxation, rich men everywhere realized that it relieved them from most of the burdens of government; and as they were gradually admitted into some share in public administration, they insisted upon the abolition of direct taxes and the substitution of crooked ones. In England, prior to 1660, the greatest part of the revenue was raised by direct taxes upon property owners. When Charles II was restored to his throne the Parliament made a bargain with him to surrender all the royal tribute upon land owners, in consideration of an excise tax upon articles used by all the people. In this way taxes, of which every penny was paid by the rich, were exchanged for taxes nine tenths of which were paid by the poor. Parliament consisting, then and for two centuries afterward, entirely of land owners, this precedent was followed more and more, until nine tenths of all the revenues were raised by crooked taxes, paid chiefly by the poor.

In France and Spain the same methods were adopted, and carried even further. The nobility were exempted from all direct taxes; and the number of such exempts continually increased. Crooked taxation was carried to its utmost limits, with the well-known result of commercial and political ruin to both nations, until France shook off her fetters in 1789. The very first step which the new France took in the direction of liberty was to sweep away a multitude of crooked taxes and to make direct taxation universal, although, unfortunately for France, not exclusive.

Taxes upon food, clothing, furniture, buildings, and other necessaries of life, whether levied by a tariff upon imports or a tax upon home productions, are what are known in economic science as taxes upon consumption; and it is inevitable that such taxes should be paid principally by the poorer classes and only to a trifling extent by the rich. This is easily understood upon a few moments' reflection. If bread is taxed, the 40,000 families who own half the wealth of this country can not eat more bread than 40,000 day laborers' families, if as much. The 10,000,000 families who own less than one quarter of the national wealth will pay five hundred times as much of the bread-tax, in proportion to their means of payment, as will the 40,000 favored

ones. A single hungry newsboy will pay as heavy a bread tax as a multi-millionaire. But allow twenty newsboys as a set-off to the millionaire's family and attendants, and still those newsboys will pay, in proportion to their wealth, 500,000 times as much as Mr. Astor or Mr. Rockefeller. Allow each of these gentlemen to have one hundred personal attendants, and still every newsboy would pay 100,000 times as much of the tax, in proportion to his means.

What is true of bread is true, to a slightly less degree, of every other thing which is made the subject of crooked taxation. It will be said that luxuries are taxed, and that such taxes are paid only by the rich. But the amount of taxes which are or can be collected upon pure luxuries, used only by the rich, is ridiculously small, compared with the entire public revenue. What are called luxuries are largely used by the poor; and the attempt, sometimes made, to justify taxes upon the poor sewing girl's ribbons, gloves, bits of lace and tiny ornaments, as superfluous luxuries, is an act of purse-proud arrogance and impudence, for which no words are hot enough. Beauty and ornament are necessaries to every woman; and when any tax-eater dares to assert that poor girls have no right to these simple little ornaments without paying tribute to his avarice, my soul is filled with such burning indignation as is probably unsuited for expression before an ethical society.

There never has been, there is not now, and there never will be, any system of taxation upon consumption which does not bear ten times as heavily upon the great mass of the hard-working people as it does upon the rich and prosperous, or which does not bear a hundred or a thousand times as heavily upon day laborers and sewing women as it does upon the few men in whose hands many millions are concentrated.

The result is, of course, that the small savings of the hardest working class are almost entirely swept away by crooked taxation, while the savings of the very rich are almost entirely untouched. Year by year the concentration of wealth in few hands goes on at ever-accelerating pace. Grant that, in the struggle for existence, the working classes do not actually fall behind in prosperity, yet they do fall far behind relatively. Suppose the 10,000,000 families who live by daily toil are better off than they were thirty years ago by even one hundred dollars each; that would only give them $1,000,000,000 more than in 1860.

What has become of the remaining $43,000,000,000 which Mr. Blaine assures us have been added to the national wealth? Give them each, in imagination—mechanics, small farmers, hod-carriers, sewing girls, and all—a thousand dollars each of the increase of wealth—an estimate which justly makes you laugh, it is so utterly beyond possibility. What has become of the remaining $33,000,000,000? No one can doubt that seven eighths of the increase in our national wealth has gone to much less than one eighth of the people. My own judgment is that more than nine tenths of it has been absorbed by less than one fiftieth part of the people.

This is the invariable and inevitable result of long-continued crooked taxation. The same process has gone on wherever this system has been maintained. It has always been checked when the proportion of direct taxation has been increased. Thus, in England, although the disproportion between the rich and the poor is still enormous, it is by no means so great as it was before a large number of crooked taxes were swept away and a small amount of direct taxes substituted. The reason why the great chasm continues there is that by far the greater part of the taxes are still indirect, levied upon consumption, and therefore chiefly paid by the poor.

What stands in the way of this greatest of all conceivable blessings to our own American people? The tariff. Not merely the McKinley tariff, but the Mills tariff. Not merely such a tariff as Speaker Reed forced through, but also any such tariff as Speaker Crisp will allow to go through. Not merely a Harrison tariff, but a Cleveland tariff.

What is the first condition and the only important condition to the deliverance of the poor from this plunder? Free trade—absolute, unqualified, unconditional, immediate. For it would be utterly impossible to maintain any tax upon domestic productions for twenty-four hours after the adoption of free trade in foreign productions. Direct taxation must and would come in with absolute free trade. Wealth would pay all taxes, and poverty would be exempt. The wealth of the wealthy would be but little diminished; but the poverty of the poor would be rapidly transformed into comparative wealth. Conceive, if you can, of the tremendous strides which this whole country would take toward prosperity under a system which relieved every productive enterprise from the burdens of taxation, which left all the earnings of every farmer, mechanic, artisan, and laborer free

of tax, which assured to the working classes an increased power of saving to the extent of a thousand millions annually, or left them free to add half that amount to their comforts. What an impulse there would be to industry! What new energy would fill the heart of every willing worker! What new sense of security would be given to the untaxed manufacturer, as well as to the untaxed merchant! What a vast demand for new laborers in new forms of labor! What new prospects would be opened to every laborer in the knowledge that for the first time in his life every penny which he honestly earned would be absolutely his own!

It will be asked what form of taxation I propose in place of tariff and excise duties. I do not feel called upon now to answer. Any form of absolutely direct taxation, collected from those who have, and not from those who have not, will produce all the results which have been here suggested Whatever form is adopted, it must be such as can not possibly be collected over again by the original tax-payer. That there are such methods of taxation is very well known. When the American people are determined to have free trade, their Congress will speedily discover a method of direct taxation.

Because I believe in the emancipation of the American laborer from all unequal burdens; because I believe that he will gain a thousand times more through justice than through charity; because I believe in more freedom as a cure for social ills rather than in more meddling; because I believe in the solidarity of the human race; because I believe that alienation between the laboring classes of different nations only makes them the ready victims of tyrants and extortioners; because I believe that the poor can never gain by injustice to each other or separation from each other; because I believe that the prosperity of every nation inevitably promotes the prosperity of every other; because, with all my heart and soul, I hate human hatred and love human sympathy; because I love the whole world, and America the best of all—I am for free trade, absolute, unconditional, and immediate.

For absolute free trade means the end of war, the end of international jealousies and quarrels, the union of honest toilers in all lands, the solution of the great social problem, the emancipation of the poor, and a state of society in which the rich will not grow poorer, but the poor will become comparatively rich.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISCUSSION.

HON. ROSWELL G. HORR:

I feel somewhat embarrassed in attempting to answer such a labored and elaborate discourse as we have listened to to-night, nor would I attempt it, were it not for the fact that a large portion of the statements made by the gentleman are not new to me. It is a kind of straw that I have thrashed over and over again until I have grown weary in the work. There is no half-way place between Mr. Shearman and myself. He is either all right and I am all wrong, or else I am all right and he is woefully wrong, don't you see? You know in theology you can sometimes get a sort of half-way place. If Calvin should get a location a little too warm to be perfectly comfortable for the modern theologians, without attempting the abolition of the place entirely, they would find some way of moderating the temperature. But there is no such half-way place between Brother Shearman and myself here to-night. I am a firm believer in the doctrine of protection. I believe in it because I believe it is in the interest of the United States, and I am for this nation first and the rest of the world afterward. I am in favor of protection because my method of theorizing is radically different from that of my friend here. I only regret that I have not time to take up this subject and give you thoroughly the philosophy of protection, so you would all understand where my friend's free trade would lead this nation. I think in a moment I can state to you, so that you can see it, the distinction between the free-trader's method of levying duties and the protectionist's, for there is no country in the world that has free trade as Mr. Shearman wants it. I was glad he commented on the difference between England and America. England levies her duties on articles which she does not produce, and we do not. No nation on the face of the globe is a free-trade nation, no country has abolished custom houses and duties entirely. England levies and collects every year one hundred millions of dollars by tariff duties, but she collects them on articles which she can not produce. She collects twenty millions on tea, which she can not produce; twenty millions on tobacco last year; for while her people might raise it, she prevents by law the production of tobacco in order to derive a revenue from taxing the foreign product. The protection theory is the opposite of this. On luxuries we levy duties for revenue only; on necessaries we put every article we can not produce ourselves on the free list-

We put it on the free list, because by the English method the tariff is paid by the people of England. If you levy a duty on an article you can not produce in your own country, you increase the tax. Now, we don't levy duties that way. The protectionist says: Put all articles of necessity that we can not produce on the free list. We levy our duties on articles we can produce, and thus stimulate production in this country, encourage competition, and so reduce prices. My friend says this is not so; if you do that it is just like a duty levied on an article you can not produce—it is also a tax, it raises prices and robs everybody who consumes the article. If that is true, if we increase the price of the article, my friend is right and I am wrong. But if, on the other hand, we invariably get up a new industry and cheapen the goods for the people who consume them, I am right and he is wrong. Now, the facts are on my side. I could name many articles which have been thus cheapened through the action of the protective tariff. This is a fact, and one fact is worth a bushel of theories. Now, for instance, we are going to make tin plate in this country, and to make it cheaper. He said tin plate is now going up, on account of the McKinley bill—I think you said so, I know you did. He stated that tin plate had been growing cheaper from the war like other steel goods. He hadn't looked at the figures correctly. Tin plate hasn't been growing cheaper; all other kinds of steel and iron goods have been growing cheaper. All other steel goods have gone down; tin plate hasn't. Why? Because we haven't made it. We have been in the grip of the foreign manufacturer. We have now put a duty on tin plate for the purpose of building up that industry in the United States, and we are going to do it. Now, my friend Shearman will deny this; the moment that bill is passed he goes into his study, gets out his Times and his Evening Post, and by the light of his free-trade theories decides that this can not be done; therefore he tells you it can not be done. Now he believes it. I believe he is mistaken. I have been around a little, you know, and I've seen some things with my own eyes. I have been all over the United States trying to find out whether we were making tin plate or not; the newspapers said we weren't; I found out that we were. I have been in nine factories where they were making it, and after I have seen a ton made it would take a free-trader more than an hour to convince me that we are not making it. Here in this city of Brooklyn is an enormous factory being erected by Summers Brothers, that is to cost $250,000. I went to that establishment, and went through it, and found out they are going to make tin plate here in spite of all the theories. It will give employment to many workers in this great city. Now, I will make the issue plain between myself and Mr. Shearman! We are going to make tin plate in the United States,

cheaper than it has ever been sold in this country, within the next twenty years, and we will make it cheaper, not by lessening the wages of labor, but by our American ingenuity in devising new and improved machinery. If we don't, I will never preach protection again, provided Brother Shearman will stop preaching free trade if we do. In one of the factories in this city you will find a little machine nearly completed that will do work which on the other side of the ocean it takes twenty men to do. We are going to furnish labor in the United States for thirty thousand human beings, and furnish it for better wages than they can get in any other spot on the globe. And there are twenty-nine other factories being built under this bill, and yet my friend here informed you that industry would be killed by protection. I get tired of hearing that kind of talk.

Mr. Shearman labored to show that cheapness is a good thing. My friend's statement is true, but with one limitation; and that is so much more important than the statement that I wonder he forgot it. A cheap overcoat is good, unless it makes a cheap man inside it. Cheapness is too cheap when it makes cheap men and women. You must make it so that the men who do the labor can live decently and respectably. We don't want men so cheap that they can't earn a good comfortable living in this country.

Why do people keep coming here from free-trade England if they are better off in that marvelous good country? Why do they stay here when they find we have a tariff? Why is it, if this country is in such a bad way as Mr. Shearman says it is, and all because of the tariff? Capital is robbing labor in this country, we are told, yet they come by thousands; but after they get here, after they find out how they are being robbed, and when they recollect what good times they used to have, why don't they go back? They come here because wages are better here than anywhere else in the world—because a man has a better chance to make a comfortable home for his wife and children. Nobody knows it better than my friend here. People come to this country because we have a higher grade of labor; we pay better wages than are paid anywhere else—[Mr. SHEARMAN: "Except in Australia"] and that is the reason I believe in a protective tariff; it keeps up the grade of labor, and that is the important thing.

Mr. Shearman says nobody wants to sell, but everybody wants to buy. Now, I have heard that before, and if I didn't know anything about the facts I might believe it; but I have been in a place where I wanted to sell a great deal more than I wanted to buy, and I think we've all been occasionally in such a place.

You state that this year has been disastrous to commerce. Have you studied the statistics? You say we are doing less business. The fact

is, on the contrary, we have increased both exports and imports. We have increased both. Imports have been increased and the amount of duty paid has decreased. You say that since the McKinley bill went into effect the country has been growing worse and worse off, and that business is being ruined and the outlook is fearful. I say there has never been a more prosperous year in the history of the country. Now, I can see how my friend, from his office, where he is studying free-trade theories, can make that statement, but I have been in twenty-one of the States since the McKinley bill was passed; I have talked with business men everywhere; and the opposite is true. We have had one of the best years, since that bill went into effect, since the nation was founded. Mortgages have been paid off, and the people are becoming prosperous, and in spite of this bill. He could not have said what he did if he had seen what I have seen all over the United States.

I object to this free-trade business. It compels a man to be constantly running down his own country. He is constantly laboring for the rest of the world. The first part of Mr. Shearman's lecture was beautiful, but practically it doesn't mean very much. Practically, men have to take care of themselves first in this world, and if they don't, there won't anybody else do it for them; and so with nations. Now, I won't train with a crowd that any time we try to do anything in this country says we can't do this and we can't do that. If it is linen we want to make, American flax is not good; if we try to make glass, the sand is not the right kind; and yet we put a duty on plate glass, and we are selling to-day the finest plate glass made on the face of the globe for seventy cents a square foot which used to cost two dollars and twenty-five cents before we put that tariff on; for we have found out that we were shipping sand by the barrel-load to France and England to make plate glass with, and it is the very best kind of sand. No matter what we try to do in this country, there is always something wrong.

My rule is to look over the entire list of articles produced, and when I can find an article like tin plate I find out what it is made of, and find that the bulk of it is iron or steel. Then I say we have plenty of iron and steel; how about tin? That is an imported article, so we put it on the free list. Then I say, Why don't we make our own tin plate? Why not send and buy the little amount of tin and do the rest ourselves? One great reason is that our manufacturers pay two or three times as much for labor as workmen are paid on the other side, and we levy the duty to protect them in paying good wages, and we know they will introduce new machinery and in twenty-five years we would make better tin plate than has ever been made. Is there any other method that is sensible?

Mr. Shearman talks a great deal about the moral side of the question Now, that just suits me. I am always glad to discuss this side of the question. I have a passion for morality. The ethical side is just what I am after. Now, I am against free trade and in favor of protection for this reason: I want the United States run on a plan of morality that will furnish a place for every human being in it, give every man a chance to be a good citizen and have a decent home. I want to diversify industry so that every man can have an occupation suited to his taste and talents. If there is a fellow who has got genius and a cunning hand so that he can make a watch, I'd have a place where he can go and make it. If he can make a locomotive or a steam engine, I would have a place where he could go and make that. I would furnish good work for every human soul. Every man who builds up a new industry in this country does the nation a wonderful amount of good. He is a public benefactor, and I would rather have his chance in the next world than that of one who preaches doleful sermons about free trade. I merely wish to suggest to this audience that when you have said all and done all, there are two sides to this question; that is, if there is any side for my friend Shearman. They have been laboring on this free-trade business ever since I was a boy, and they don't seem to be making many converts yet. I have heard it preached from my earliest memory. You would think, if what my friend says is true, that everything that is bad would disappear before this system of free trade. Then why isn't there a free-trade nation on the globe? Even England is beginning to weary of her kind of free trade. The British Minister tells us that, to his great regret, free trade is losing ground and protection is sweeping the whole world.

I have said all I expected to, but not all I would like to, for the subject is truly inexhaustible. I would like to show you where we have cheapened articles all over the United States and furnished homes for people in this country. I have been in more than two hundred institutions and asked the men what wages they were getting. Some had worked abroad. Take a man who has worked in both places; he knows, and I would take his testimony before any other. I have talked with them all over the country, and every one of them tells me that they are here because their wages are such that they can live better and enjoy blessings they could not anywhere else, and because it is the place for workingmen to do well. I am going to stand by the system that enables them to say this about our country and to tell the truth.

PROF. H. J. MESSENGER:

I find myself in an unfortunate position in this discussion. There seems to be a place for both the free-trader and the protectionist, but

not for me. While sympathizing with revenue reform, I confess that I would rather see the McKinley bill stand than to see immediate and unconditional free trade. A sudden change like that would be opposed to evolutionary principles. Evolution implies a gradual change of conditions. Some of Mr. Shearman's positions are not assailable; some of Mr. Horr's are also unassailable. There are two extreme schools in regard to every debatable question; they have been represented here to-night. The work of science is to take the truths in each of the extreme schools and harmonize them into a new and deeper truth. All great questions, by the law of relativity, have to be compromised in their practical solution. In the first part of this discourse the lecturer dealt with the problem before us from the standpoint of the Sermon on the Mount; this is to-day an impracticable standpoint. Under certain conditions, the general principle and demand for protection from outside aggression is dominant and necessary. The tariff is one form of this protection. Evolution means differentiation and integration, and this is true in the evolution of nations as well as of individuals. In the simplest forms of life there is no specialization of functions or organs; in the higher forms, specialization of functions is developed, and each organ does its part in the economy of life. So with states and nations. The nation which illustrates the highest civilization is that in which the functions are most highly differentiated and specialized, and it is right to throw around it such barriers as are necessary to protect it from social disintegration. It is not right, however, to aim at the injury of other nations in our tariff regulations. We can not injure another person without injuring ourselves, and so also of nations. The tendency, therefore, should be constantly toward freer trade, and this tendency should be pushed as far and as rapidly as is consistent with increasing differentiation and specialization.

DR. ROBERT G. ECCLES:

If the lecturer had followed the scientific method he would have shown the evils as well as the benefits of free trade; the method which he adopted has resulted in showing only the good. There must be a debit as well as a credit side to every account; the credit side only has been shown to-night. There must be evils connected with every sociological state whatever, and the true sociologist would endeavor to ascertain these evils. In a scientific discussion both sides must be shown; the good and evil must be balanced. From a biological standpoint, much can be said in favor of protection. The lecturer has spoken of free trade as akin to the free circulation of the blood in living creatures. But the analogy would demand that there should be circulation

not only in the individual organism, but between all individuals of the same species. This we know is not the fact. In monocellular organisms there is no exchange of blood with one another; but in a multicellular organism there arises a community circulation, confined to the limits of the individual structure. Society is a picture of the multicellular individual. There must be a community circulation. Will society progress more rapidly by absolute free trade? This might be so if all peoples constituted one community, under one head; but as long as we are separated by racial and national boundaries, free circulation can only be maintained within racial or national limitations. As to the questions of liberty, the tariff does not interfere with that at all. You may trade with any one you please. The only proviso is that in certain cases you must pay taxes for the privilege. The Government must be supported; the taxes must be raised in some way, and it makes no essential difference whether you pay them in one way or another. A tariff increases the population of a country. The tax on tin plate, for instance, causes workmen in that industry to come to this country, and it raises wages because it creates a demand for those workmen. The lecturer stated that some fourteen hundred industries could be maintained in this country under free trade. This may be true; but it would not be had free trade been established earlier in our history. Free trade would have given us a nation of farmers, and, as farming requires more land than other industries, our population would have been more sparse. Protection has covered the country with railroads in all directions, binding the nation together. Free trade would have given us railroads only East and West, carrying farm products to the seaboard to interchange with Europe, and thus the different sections would have remained disunited and insular.

DR. LEWIS G. JANES:

With the judicial fairness proper in a presiding officer, I propose to make a brief criticism on each of the principal speakers. In largely ignoring the historical method, and affirming, in substance, that evolution can be of little assistance in the settlement of this vexed question, I think Mr. Shearman gravely errs. We do not study the lessons of history in order to copy and imitate the methods of the past, but rather to observe social tendencies, to obtain pointers in the direction of future progress, which will enable us to work with Nature, in harmony with the trend of her great evolutionary forces, and not against them. Studied in this spirit, history seems to me not only a fruitful source of information upon topics of this character, but the only safe and reliable guide. And history, thus studied, is but another name for evolution. In neglecting this field of study, and basing his argument so

exclusively upon *a priori* data, I feel that the lecturer has unnecessarily weakened his case.

On the other hand, I was greatly surprised to hear Mr. Horr's affirmation that the past year has been the one of our greatest national prosperity. This statement is contrary to my own experience, and to the testimony of the practical men of affairs with whom I have come in contact. A successful manufacturer—a consistent Republican and protectionist in politics—declared in my presence yesterday that only the unexampled prosperity of our agricultural interests—our abundant crops—had saved us from the most serious financial crisis of recent years. I believe this statement is substantially true. The past year has not been one of great business prosperity, but the contrary.

MR. SHEARMAN, in closing: As to the superiority of personal observation in obtaining data for the discussion of this subject, in a country like ours, it is impossible for one man by mere personal observation to gain a correct idea of the course of business and industry. I do not set any value on the mere individual observation of any one man—least of all myself—in these matters. One man's experience is only one rill in thousands which go to make up the great current of statistical information. I may not have had the advantages of Mr. Horr in going around among the rich manufacturers and hearing from them that things are about as they want them. But I have taken the reports of the great commercial agencies—Bradstreet's and Dun's—concerns which have thousands of correspondents in all parts of the country, and I find that in the twelve months following the passage of the McKinley bill (and that is what I said—not "the past year," as Mr. Horr assumed) these agencies report 12,000 failures throughout the country, representing liabilities of over $225,000,000. And I repeat my statement that this was the most disastrous business year we have ever had. [A voice: "Give us the *pro rata* figures."] If you mean the amount of failures as compared with the population, there were only two years—1857 and 1873—in which the record (omitting the railroads) was blacker than the year of which I speak. As Dr. Janes has said, we were saved from the greatest financial crash in our history by the enormous crops of the past year and the unprecedented demand for them. The condition of the iron trade is a good index of business in general, and there was a great falling off in the production of pig iron in the year after the McKinley bill was passed. As to the reduction in the price of plate glass, in 1861, when the duty was first put on it, it was selling here for $1.10 a square foot, and for 80 cents in Europe. Now we can get it here in large quantities for 70 cents, while in Europe it sells for 35 or 40 cents. And this result we have obtained

by taxing ourselves for thirty years at the rate of 100 per cent. As to the tin factories, they must have imported help, and with the improved machinery of which Mr. Horr has spoken they can give very little employment to American labor. If each of these factories costs as much as the one in Brooklyn ($250,000)—a wildly extravagant figure for the average of these factories—all of them would cost $7,500,000. Now we are taxing ourselves $16,000,000 a year to build these factories. So we could afford to pay the entire cost of building them and yet save $8,000,000 a year by the operation, if we abolished the tariff on tin plate. But we are asked: "What nation has adopted free trade?" This is the same old argument I heard on the slavery question when I was a boy. I regard the tariff question as one of liberty and honesty. Shall we seriously discuss whether on the whole it is better to be honest? There have been men who could not see the advantages of liberty. Noble men held slaves. Conscientious men—far better than I—persecuted horribly their fellow-creatures for religion's sake. So sincere and conscientious men are protectionists. I have never doubted that. But if you really want a historical argument of that sort I am prepared at any time to give you seven times as many facts and figures as my friend Horr, and twenty times as many as my friend Dr. Eccles.

As to Prof. Messenger's position—I have to answer three protectionists to-night, for I don't call that man a free-trader who would rather live under the McKinley bill than have it abolished at once—I would rather the McKinley bill should remain the law than have any such half-hearted changes as Prof. Messenger proposes. I am just as much an evolutionist as any of you, but evolution doesn't always work slowly. If Prof. Messenger had a toothache, would he tell the dentist that he wanted a slow, evolutionary process of cure that would take three quarters of an hour instead of curing it in ten seconds? If you were to abolish the tariff to-morrow, the cable would be crowded with orders for European goods. There would be a quick advance of prices there and a slight decrease here. More people would be supplied with comforts and luxuries, while the manufacturers would do a much greater business at the lower prices. All of Europe could not supply one eighth of our wants while supplying her own, and it is folly to think of her supplanting us. The way to bring about an era of prosperity such as we have never known is by getting rid of our hampering tariff laws at once, and inaugurating an era of complete commercial freedom.

TAXATION AND REVENUE

THE PROTECTIONIST VIEW

BY

GEORGE GUNTON

AUTHOR OF WEALTH AND PROGRESS, THE PRINCIPLES OF SOCIAL ECONOMICS, ETC.

COLLATERAL READINGS SUGGESTED:

Carey's Principles of Social Science, Past, Present, and Future, and Harmony of Interests; Thompson's Political Economy, and Protection to Home Industry; Gunton's Principles of Social Economics; Hoyt's Protection and Free Trade; Kelley's Industrial and Financial Questions; Roberts's Government Revenue; Patten's Economic Basis of Protection, and Premises of Political Economy; Byles's Sophisms of Free Trade; Tariff Messages of Republican Presidents.

TAXATION AND REVENUE.

THE PROTECTIONIST VIEW.

By Prof. George Gunton.

It is generally assumed that the doctrine of evolution is synonymous with the doctrine of *laissez faire*, and that consistent evolutionists should therefore be free-traders. I shall venture this evening to controvert that position and endeavor to show that protection is a fundamental principle in the law of evolution, and that in economics and sociology scientific protection is the true means of securing the "survival of the fittest."

It is commonly urged in favor of the free-trade view that it has the support of the intellectual class, and that only short-sighted shop-keepers and manufacturers who have a selfish end in view favor protection. There is considerable truth in this claim, but is there not something peculiar and even suspicious about a position in which all the learning is on one side and the common-sense men of affairs on the other? Whenever we see abstract theory arrayed against universal experience, we are warranted in seriously questioning the validity of the theory. After all, human experience, as recorded in the history of society, is the safest basis for generalization and the only basis scientific evolution can accept. Society has been wrong many times, but I doubt if all the human race were ever all wrong at once, and persisted in being wrong. Whenever mankind persists in doing a certain thing, we may safely conclude that some beneficial results are derived from that policy. Protection is a policy that all mankind have adopted in some form or other, and no nation has yet entirely abandoned it.

It must not be assumed from this, however, that those who have advocated a protective policy have always understood the economic principle underlying it. On the contrary, they have acted from their sense of interest. Indeed, it is a part of the general history of social evolution that we do things before we understand them. Nearly all scientific generalization is the philosophical explanation for what has previ-

ously occurred. In short, man first does things, and then learns to explain why he did them.

The traditional theory of political economy of which free trade is a cardinal doctrine proceeds in an almost opposite direction. It begins with certain postulates or assumptions which it calls general principles, and so long as these postulates remain intact it pays very little attention to experience.

Two weeks ago the lecturer representing the other side presented the free-trade view in its extremest aspect, and he did it in the old-fashioned metaphysical style. He affirmed without qualification that absolute free trade is the essence of freedom, the embodiment of the Golden Rule, which makes all mankind brethren, and even went so far as to insist that no protectionist could be a Christian.

Now, I take substantially the opposite view, and contend that protection is a fundamental principle in society, and, if it were necessary to extend the discussion, I might say in all nature. There is no feature in man's social development which is more continuous and marked than his constant effort to protect himself, his family, his property, and his nation, and here is the radical difference between the evolutionist's or protectionist's view and the free-trade view.

From the free-trade view national development is comparatively unimportant and national boundaries are regarded as arbitrary limitations which should be obliterated. This is contrary to the whole trend of social evolution. Every movement in the progress of society is toward greater individuality of form and diversity of character, and therefore a great distinctiveness in the characteristics of groups or nations. If we could multiply this audience a million times, it would be difficult to find two faces alike, but if we should take a like number of Chinese they would be so similar that it would be difficult to distinguish men from women; and if we go still lower into the tribal conditions we find the uniformity even greater and the individuality less. This is true throughout the whole range of physical and social phenomena. Therefore, instead of nations being unimportant, they are the embodiments of individuality in sections of the human race; they develop types of civilization.

The preservation of a nation is therefore just as important to individual development as the opportunity of classes in gymnastics is to muscular growth. I suspect that even the most inveterate free-trader would admit that we should

have an army and navy to protect ourselves against Russia, Mexico, England, or any other nation from invading this country. But why do we want to maintain our individuality as a nation? Of what importance to civilization or humanity is the United States unless it furnishes some opportunities for advancing civilization that could not exist without it? If this progress would go on just as well if England and America were merged together or if Russia took possession of this country, there would be no reason whatever for maintaining the integrity of our public institutions.

The evolutionary reason for maintaining the Republic is that it furnishes conditions for differentiating influences in the social life of the people. Now, the social status of any people depends chiefly upon their industrial life. Agricultural and raw-material producing occupations that isolate laborers are non-socializing and non-civilizing. Who ever heard of an agricultural nation being in the front rank of civilization? Throughout human history civilization has always followed the lines of manufacturing and commercial industry, for the obvious reason that this class of industry creates the industrial and social environment necessary to intellectual political advance.

Where in our own country—in any country—are the advanced ideas, where are the centers of civilization, where are the social incentives for new methods and intellectual friction and investigation and philosophizing? Are they on the rural farms; are they out on the ranch; are they in the Black Hills; are they where the population is scattered, and people see each other once a week or once a month? No. They are in the centers where the people touch, where their industries bring them together, and where they become interdependent on each other for everything they do and have; where social life is brightened automatically by contact with their fellow-men. The only force that brightens human beings is contact with other human beings. Isolation is the very source of stagnation and social arrest.

As a part of the claim that free trade is the only policy that can secure the survival of the fittest, we are told that if America is superior to other nations it ought to prove its superiority by its ability to survive without paternal aid. This is another metaphysical assumption. While it is true that no policy can be regarded as scientific which does not enable the fittest to survive, it should be remembered that it is one of the characteristics of superiority and fitness to be

able to provide the means for one's own protection and preservation. In biology this protection or test of fitness sometimes takes the form of special organic functioning and concomitant muscular power, as in the teeth and claws of the tiger. In society it frequently takes the form of devising weapons of defense, as armies and navies; in civil life, the institution of a police force, a judiciary, and jails; and in industry it sometimes takes the form of tariffs and restrictions to immigration. To be able to devise a means of protection through political institutions is surely as good evidence of fitness as is the ability to protect one's self by brute force.

Indeed, that form of social organization or political polity is most fit to survive which devises means for its own protection without using physical violence. Every higher form has to develop its own means of protection, and when it reaches the point where it can not devote all its energies to self-protection, it differentiates special protective functions. In society this is what may generally be designated as the policeman function; whether it takes the form of army and navy, courts of justice or policemen, it is all the same, differing only in detail of application. Now, this specialized protective function in society is always called into use to protect a superior against a lower form of social organization. It was not until a certain proportion of society had learned to devote its energies to industry that armies as a separate, completely differentiated, civilized class were organized; and policemen and courts of justice, which are much more modern forms of protection, were not developed until a considerable number of individual citizens had advanced past the point of fighting their own battles individually. In other words, it was not until individual citizens had risen above the barbarism of individually conducting their own protection that society differentiated a collective protective function. And this became necessary because as people devoted themselves to more civilized pursuits, they lost the capacity to successfully use brute force. Hence, to the extent that force was necessary to protect them, it had to be furnished by society, otherwise progress would have been arrested. To insist that the superior shall continue to protect themselves on the plane and by the methods of the inferior is to insist that they shall descend to a lower level. And, on the other hand, if we insist that the inferior shall deal with the superior only by rising to the

higher plane of the latter, we then make the progress of the inferior necessary in order to enable them to have any relations with the superior, which not only preserves the higher but tends constantly to develop the lower.

Economic protection is but the scientific application of this principle to the industrial intercourse of nations. Properly understood, a protective tariff is the economic use of the policeman function. It is important to carefully observe the line of demarkation between the inferior and superior in the economic development of nations. The civilization of any nation is superior or inferior according to the social well-being of its own people—not of its royal courts, its aristocracy, or its literary class, but of the masses. This is indicated by the rate of real wages or the permanent daily income of the laboring classes. Since the difference in real wages measures the difference in civilization, in order to apply the protective principle to industry so as to guard a higher civilization against the influence of a lower, we must protect the wage-level of the more advanced country.

How can this be accomplished through the use of the taxing power without interfering with the industrial freedom and restricting the survival of the fittest? I answer: By imposing a duty on foreign products equivalent to the difference in wages or the labor cost of their production. This would practically announce that all who desire to sell their products in our market must compete on our level or not at all. If their wages are lower than ours, they must pay the difference as a premium for the privilege of entering our market. Their competition would then be made to depend on their superior economic skill, just as is the competition between American producers.

If this principle were adopted in all countries, then the home market in every country would be open to the producers of all nations on the basis of its own wage-level. The markets of the world would then be free to all who could compete with the home producer through the use of superior machinery or economic methods; that is to say, through economy in machinery and natural forces, and not through the use of mere barbarism or lower-paid labor. Lower prices resulting from lower civilization are uneconomic. There is nothing so dear as barbarism, nothing so cheap as civilization. Nothing is cheap to any nation that degrades its people in order to obtain it. The test of economy is the production by methods which shall make wealth

cheap without cheapening man—methods that make wealth cheap by science, that make Nature do the work, thus allowing civilization to advance and real cheapness to be attained. If England, or France, or Germany can produce more cheaply than America on that basis, they should have our market, but on no other conditions. Only better machinery represents more scientific and economic methods of industry, and that is an indication of fitness to survive. He is most fit to serve mankind who serves them best. And in economics this always depends upon using the most civilized methods in doing the work.

Our free-trade friends insist that the great thing needed is cheapness, but they make the mistake of confounding cheapness with low prices, whereas the two are not necessarily identical at all. Suppose, for illustration, shoes were fifty cents a pair in India and wages ten cents a day, and two dollars a pair in America with wages two dollars a day. It would take five days' labor to obtain a pair of shoes in India and only one day's labor to obtain a pair in America. The shoes would be five times as dear in India as in America, although the price was seventy-five per cent less. Dearness and cheapness are measured not by pennies but by labor. Wealth is only cheap when a large amount of it can be obtained for a day's work. No matter how few pennies I may give for a thing, if I give more labor to obtain it, then it is dearer. Nothing really brings cheapness which does not give lower prices without lower wages. Therefore, to supply our products at a lower price by virtue of lower wages is simply to lower our civilization without cheapening our wealth. They have low prices and low civilization in South America, China, India, and Russia, but they have dear wealth, and therefore are poor. Since nothing can cheapen wealth which does not reduce the cost of production without diminishing real wages, it follows that *the true economic basis for international competition is the wage-level of the dearer-labor country.* A tariff policy based upon this principle would protect a superior against injury from an inferior, without affording the slightest monopolistic impediment to economic rivalry. Instead of restricting wholesome competition, this would simply protect the competitive opportunity for the "fittest to survive," the test of fitness always being the ability to furnish low-priced wealth without employing low-priced labor. Under such conditions the products of foreign countries could never undersell those

of home industry, except when their lower prices are due to the use of superior labor-*saving* and not labor-*cheapening* methods. Thus competent producers would have access to all the markets of the world, and only the incompetent or less economic would be excluded. In short, this would guard every home market against the products of a lower civilization without depriving it of the benefits of a higher civilization.

Under these conditions no country would require a tariff against America. India would not fear competition from the United States, because the United States has nothing to give that is not better than what India has. If we permitted England to undersell us by reason of her lower wages, we should be compelled to readjust our industrial conditions to the English basis or else give England the monopoly of the American market. This would simply be handicapping our manufacturers, because the element by which they would be defeated is something that our very civilization has excluded. Hence America would be permanently injured. Whereas, on the other hand, if America undersold the English in England, English industry would have to be readjusted on the American basis, which is a basis of superior methods, and consequently England would be permanently benefited by the change and nobody would be injured.

There are three important reasons why home markets are superior to foreign markets, and why domestic trade and manufacture should always be encouraged in preference to foreign: (1) Foreign trade is essentially wasteful, because it necessarily tends to maximize instead of minimizing the distance between the raw material and the factory, and between the factory and the market. For instance, before the development of cotton manufacture in this country our cloth was made in England. The raw cotton was produced in South Carolina, sent to England to be manufactured, then brought back to America. Consumers of cotton cloth in this country had to pay the cost of transporting it twice across the Atlantic, which was so much waste made necessary by uneconomic conditions. To carry a product six thousand miles in order to deliver it to customers a hundred miles away is to perpetuate uneconomic ways of working.

Nothing can justify such waste except absolute inability to avoid it. The mere fact that England could, under ex-

isting conditions, do manufacturing at so much less cost than we as to be able to pay the transportation both ways, was no economic justification for our continuing to buy cotton cloth from her instead of developing the methods for making it ourselves. Indeed, such a policy would have been as obviously uneconomic as to have persisted in using hand-looms and stage coaches in preference to factories and railroads. The question in that case was not, Can England, under existing conditions, supply our cotton cloth cheaper than we can make it? But can we, by any change of conditions, develop the means for making it as cheaply for ourselves as she can make it for us, and thus eliminate for all time the unnecessary cost of double transportation? This question was answered in the affirmative, and to-day cotton cloth can be made as cheaply here as in England, and more cheaply than in any other country, notwithstanding our wages are so much higher. Consequently, that economic waste is saved not only to us, but to all future generations, to say nothing of the social advantage of developing the industry in our own country.

It may be laid down as a fundamental principle in economic production that all commodities should be manufactured as near as possible to the raw material, or the market for finished products. If a nation possesses the raw material for a given article, it should always develop the facilities for manufacturing the finished product for its own consumption; and any public policy which does not tend to promote this end is inimical to national development. Therefore, instead of constantly encouraging foreign trade, it should ever be a cardinal principle in statesmanship to develop domestic trade and home manufacture.

(2) Another disadvantage of foreign as compared with home markets is that they divorce the economic interest of employers and the employed. To the extent that any producers in a given community rely upon a foreign market for their wares will employers cease to have any economic interest in the welfare of their own laborers. Whenever employers are independent of the laborers of their own country as consumers they have an apparent interest in keeping down wages, because, under those circumstances, every reduction in wages is an increase of profits. Suppose, for instance, American shoe manufacturers sell all their product in Europe at a dollar a pair; it is quite obvious that if they can obtain labor at ten per cent less it would be so much

addition to their profit, because a reduction in wages would in no way affect the consumption of their shoes, they being sold in another country where wages remain the same.

Under a home-market *régime* the case is very different, because in domestic trade there are no influences that militate against the material welfare of laborers which do not react upon that of the employing class. The obvious reason for this is that no market for factory-made products can be permanently sustained without consumption by the laboring classes. Consequently, when the employing class in any country have to rely upon a home market to sell their products, their own prosperity depends directly upon the consuming capacity, and hence the wages, of laborers in their own country. Under such conditions, whatever reduces wages and impairs the purchasing power of laborers diminishes the market and undermines the prosperity of employers. Thus, under a home-market *régime*, an employer's success is dependent upon and commensurate with the prosperity of the laboring classes, because their consumption determines the market basis for his production.

(3) The third, and by no means the least important, reason why home markets are preferable to foreign markets is that they more surely promote the diversification of production and the socialization of employments. One of the popular notions regarding foreign trade is that the prosperity of a nation is indicated by the amount of its exports—that it is rich by what it sells. This is a great mistake. Nothing indicates the prosperity and well-being of a people but what they consume. A nation may produce extensively and export largely and the mass of its people remain very poor. To the extent that more manufactured products are exported from any country than imported to it, are its products not consumed by those who produce them. The prosperity of a nation, therefore, can not be measured by the wealth it exports to other countries, nor by the wealth it receives through the profits of foreign trade, but only by the wealth its own people consume, since that is all which really enters into their social life. Thus the extent of domestic consumption—the home market—is the real measure of the social status.

Moreover, a home market supplies a double social current, whereas a foreign market for the same products only supplies a single current. In addition to the socializing effect of manufacture upon industry, the home use of manufactured articles

tends to increase and diversify the market for such products by the social conditions necessarily connected with their consumption. For instance, the consumption of carpets, pictures, millinery, etc., implies more or less refined social relations, which stimulate not only the desire for more of the same kind of things, but also create tastes and desires for fresh varieties of products. Thus, while manufacturing industries always socialize, their socializing influence is always greater where they produce for a home market. This must not be interpreted to mean that foreign markets are a disadvantage under all conditions, but only that wherever the development of a home market is possible it is always preferable to a foreign market. In other words, foreign trade is ultimately a disadvantage to a nation unless it can take place without substituting simpler for relatively complex industries or lowering wages, and should be encouraged under no other conditions.

Perhaps the most specious argument employed in favor of a free-trade policy is that it is cosmopolitan in its character, that it rises above local, sectional, or even national considerations, treating all mankind as brethren, while protection is pre-eminently a local policy that endeavors to discriminate against the people of all other countries in favor of its own. It may be admitted that any policy which promotes the welfare of one country at the expense of another is essentially unphilosophic, and the best policy for any country is the one whose beneficial effects are most universal. The economic character of a public policy, however, should never be judged by its immediate or temporary effect, but always by its permanent and ultimate influences. Measured by this standard, it is not difficult to show that a protective policy is pre-eminently cosmopolitan in its character.

It may be regarded as a self-evident proposition that he who would help others must first develop the best in himself, since not to develop his own capacities is to limit his own usefulness. The most altruistic effects are usually produced by efforts to broaden and elevate our own social life, because every addition to our own life embraces more of the efforts, interests, and well-being of others. In proportion as the interests of others become identified with our own will our efforts be directed to promoting their welfare as well as our own. In other words, in proportion as we become socially interdependent do our efforts become altruistic and cosmopolitan. Indeed, it is only by increasing man's interde-

pendence upon his fellow-man that the solidarity of the human race will ever be realized, and the altruism which shall make every man's happiness include that of all mankind become an established fact.

This is as true of nations as of individuals. The nation which would contribute most to the advancement of human progress must develop its own civilization. We might as well expect the weak to carry the strong as barbarism to aid civilization. That nation which most completely develops its own industrial and social possibilities creates the most improved methods of production. In this way it is not only able to obtain its own wealth cheap, but ultimately to produce many commodities at less cost than can be produced by the cheap labor of less civilized countries. Upon the principle that whatever undersells succeeds, the less civilized countries are compelled to adopt the superior methods. Thus the benefits of inventions which result from a higher civilization are automatically transferred to a lower, and the socializing influences of improved methods of production become cosmopolitan.

This is clearly demonstrated by the adoption of various kinds of American machinery abroad, without the use of which many European products would have been undersold by ours. Nor are the benefits which more highly civilized countries confer upon the lower limited to what is forced upon them by competition in commodities which they both produce. A still greater benefit arises from the introduction of new commodities, which more diversified tastes and more complex social life of the more highly civilized country bring into existence. As a demand for new commodities increases, labor-saving appliances are invented to reduce the cost of their production, until they can be sold in foreign countries at merely nominal prices. In this case the products of a higher civilization are not competing with those of a lower, but new products are being introduced into less civilized countries; this stimulates a taste for articles they have not hitherto used, thereby introducing new elements into their social life. Just as fast as a demand for such new commodities is created, the social life is diversified, the standard of living is raised, wages are increased, and a market basis for new industries is established. This is what the diversified tastes and inventive genius of America have been doing in Europe and South America to an increasing extent during the last quarter of a century.

Another advantage of scientific protection is that it tends to promote the economic selection of industries, thereby establishing the only conditions upon which free trade between nations can ever take place without injury to the higher-wage country.

The postulate, so frequently emphasized by the advocates of *laissez faire*, that nations, like individuals, should be enabled to adopt those industries for which they are best fitted, is unexceptionable. But, in order to obtain this result, it is necessary to secure opportunities for developing the economic possibilities of the people. It should be remembered that the most effective force in society is human invention, and not natural resources, as is commonly assumed. For reasons already explained, labor-saving inventions can be developed only under the influence of socializing and diversified industries. These conditions, without which a truly economic selection of industries is impossible, are what protection furnishes.

Although it may be possible for these conditions to exist without protection, history does not furnish an instance where such a thing has occurred. Take our own country. If protection had not been introduced we probably should have had very few manufacturing industries for a century to come, if at all, because by the lower prices that would have prevailed through the low wages and highly perfected machinery in England, we should probably have remained chiefly an agricultural people with a sparse population—in which case we should have had neither the socializing influence nor individual genius that large manufacturing centers have furnished, nor the extensive immigration which our high wages have attracted, and without these our immense railroad system could not have been developed.

The way in which protection promotes this is easy to understand. In the first place, it raises the basis of international competition to the plane of the higher wage-level, and thus it prevents the lower-paid labor from one country from being made the means of checking the growth of manufacturing industries in another. This secures a home market for domestic products, and furnishes an economic basis for a diversification of socializing industries in the higher-wage country. The greatest incentive is thus furnished for developing the most economic methods of production. With concentrated capital, the use of highly perfected machinery, and the development of specialized indus-

tries, a truly economic selection of industries becomes possible. The conditions will then exist for determining what things a nation can most economically produce, by reason of its peculiar character, natural resources, and civilization.

When this point is reached, protection will be economically necessary only to the extent of preventing the substitution of simple for complex industries. It will then be to the advantage not only of that nation, but of the world, that it should devote its productive energies to those industries for which it has developed the best capacity, and to relinquish all others for countries for which they are better adapted. Just in proportion as this takes place protection becomes unnecessary—*provided, however, that this change does not involve the substitution of simple for complex industries.* For example, if America becomes highly proficient in the manufacture of jewelry and relatively deficient in the manufacture of silk, capital will naturally go to the former and away from the latter industry. Foreign silk might then be admitted free of duty without injury to the American laborer. It will thus be seen that protection, as here considered, not only prevents a less civilized country from checking the progress of a higher, but, by promoting the substitution of economic (intelligent) for natural (blind) selection of industries, it tends ultimately to make a mutually advantageous free trade possible.

Thus a protective policy is not necessarily narrow and exclusive, but, when philosophically applied, is a most truly cosmopolitan doctrine of industrial relations, because it tends first to develop home industry and civilization without injuring others, and, second, to automatically extend these beneficial results to all mankind.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISCUSSION.

MR. LINDLEY VINTON:

I have been waiting to hear to what I should have to reply on the subject of taxation and revenue. I have heard nothing of taxation and nothing of revenue, but merely a general eulogy of the protective system. It has not been stated whether this tax is just or not, but simply that protection has built up the country and that without protection we should return to barbarism. I was surprised to hear that all the practical or "common-sense" men are on the protectionist side. I had supposed that it was otherwise. I myself learned the trade of machinist and I am now a president of a manufacturing concern, and yet I am as strong if not as eloquent a free-trader as Mr. Shearman. I must have been mistaken; I am the professor—the mere theorist—and the professor is the president of the manufacturing company.

The free-trade movement in England had for its champion as practical a man of affairs as John Bright, himself a manufacturer. Benjamin Franklin, a practical business man, the ideal embodiment of "common sense," desired that England and America should be united in trade if not in government. Present instances of successful manufacturers and business men who are free-traders are also numerous. In my own town in Indiana three out of five heads of manufacturing companies are ardent free-traders. Workingmen all over the country are changing over to the free-trade side because they find that protection does not protect.

I wish we could get rid of the two words "protection" and "free trade." People say "protection" when they should say "a system of enactments to limit the natural rights of man." Free trade means equal rights to all. Protection means that a law shall be enacted which says to the manufacturer: "You shall have the right to charge extra prices for your goods." Protection says that congressmen are wise enough to establish our business relations with other nations by an arbitrary flat. Protection says that when I go into business I may choose my own partner; but I must also receive into partnership a third party who comes without asking and who comes to stay—the Government of the United States. This, I hold, is outside of the true province of government.

The professor says we must have a nation to protect us in our rights,

and that if free trade were established the national existence would be imperiled. England is still a nation, however, and England has had practical free trade for half a century. The nation has other functions besides those of the policeman. I have heard various theories propounded in defense of protection—infant industries, industries that are no longer infants, and all that—but here we have something new. "Any occupation in which our people are getting no better wages than those of other nations shall not be protected; but if wages elsewhere are lower than in our own country, then we must have protection." But are we to reckon wages by the daily product of labor, or by the *per diem* price? It would give us as much trouble to keep the tariff straight under that method as we have now.

The points I wish to make are, first, that the industries of the United States were not built up by protection, and, second, that the industries of the United States do not need protection to maintain them. The professor, it is true, made the statement that there would have been industries had there been no protection, and with this I agree. I agree also with the conclusions from his jewelry and silk illustration; that was a very happy free-trade argument. The industries of the United States were built up because the country was fitted for them, and because we needed them. People came to the United States and found fertile fields; they left the crowded countries of the Old World and came where land was plenty and cheap, and labor, consequently, high. They sought, therefore, to find ways to make one man do two men's work. In the old country it wasn't worth while to increase a man's productiveness. Driven by necessity, they made improvements in their implements. The farmer went to the blacksmith to have his improved plow made; the blacksmith became busy; labor was high; he couldn't afford to do his work with the old tools. So new ones were invented, and new industries were set to work. The improvement and invention of machinery has gone along with the diversification of our industries. At last came Eli Whitney, the inventor of the American system of manufacturing. Having a contract for a large quantity of arms, he could not find enough gunsmiths—men who understood all the various operations of making a gun—but he could get men to do this or that, and by setting different gangs to work on different parts, and inventing a machine to do some of the work, he started the American system. The industry had arisen, not because of protection, for you can't protect what doesn't exist, but because of the needs and genius of our people.

Take the iron industry, for example. England had "protection" until her forests were wiped from the earth. Then to get iron for her forges she opened her ports and encouraged shipments from the colo-

nies. We manufactured more iron than England before we became a nation. England opened her doors because her industry had been crushed—crushed by "protection." Every invention that tends to make iron better and cheaper was made under free trade, and the United States under protection doesn't lift a hand to help it. The same is true of cotton. This industry was started in the United States, not only without protection, but against the strongest efforts of England—by prohibiting the exportation of machinery to this country, etc.—to prevent it. It was not by law, but by the working out of evolution, that this industry grew.

Admitting that we need protection at all, the protection that we want is not against the paupers, but against the high-wage workers of England. The professor's contrary theory does not stand the test of facts. If I find my neighbor paying a man five dollars a day I think there is something going on; he has superior skill or knowledge at his command, and is a dangerous rival. The cheapness of labor is not a matter of the number of dollars per day the laborer receives, but of working power per unit of production.

I should like to have the professor explain the second step in his method of protection. The first is to get the law passed. The second is to see that the manufacturer gives the differences in prices allowed by the increased tariff to his men. I do not do it and others do not; often wages are lowered instead of raised. The rule of business is: get it yourself if you can. I am tired of hearing men say: "Let us tax you, and we'll give the proceeds to the other men." They always forget the second part. The professor's quiet assumption that the foreign competitors pay the difference in prices caused by the tariff for the privilege of introducing their wares is amusing, but will deceive no one.

Variety of industries is good, and it will come in the natural evolution of our industrial system whether we have protection or not; but if we produce it by artificial stimulation it may cost too much. In the matter of tin plate, for example, it would be cheaper to offer a purse of $5,000,000 for producing an establishment for the manufacture of tin plate than to have the present tariff; but that would disgust the people. As soon as the people understand that protection is not protection, but special legislation for the benefit of four per cent of the people at the expense of the rest, there will be a change.

Industries have not gone to pieces when the tax has been taken off; witness quinine, sugar, etc. I don't know of an industry in the United States connected with the manufacture of iron that would not be benefited by the removal of the tax. It costs less to make iron here than it does to make it in England. There coke costs $5 a ton; in the

United States it costs $1.25. And with convict labor at 25 cents a day (think of that, in a protected industry in America!) we have the advantage over England in that item of cost.

They say we must have protection to start new industries. That is contrary to everything we know in the history of this country. In the South, after the war, there was no capital, no business, no skilled labor. Capital from the North went down there, found iron and coal, built furnaces and cotton mills, in spite of the free competition of New England and Pennsylvania. Alabama was built up without protection against New England. Capital will always take the risk of starting new enterprises if it ought to do so. No new industry will pay at once, and those who start it do not expect it to. If a newspaper is started in New York $200,000 must be spent before anything is earned. Yet papers are started.

Turning to the real topic of the evening—Taxation and Revenue—I will say that I believe in direct taxation. I want to know what I pay and to whom, and I want what I pay to go into the public treasury and not into the pockets of individuals. Taxation should be in proportion to the ability of the individual to pay and to the services which the Government renders and the special privileges which it grants. As to revenue, I believe it can be raised in such a manner that no duty shall be put upon any article the taxing of which will affect the manufacturers in this country. It should not be raised in any way that will interfere with business, or put money in the pockets of the manufacturer.

MR. ROBERT W. TAYLER:

If I have any criticism to offer on the modes of discussion adopted by free-traders, it is that they are open to the charge of intolerance. I venture to assert that the average individual with strong convictions in favor of free trade is more ignorant of the philosophical grounds assumed by every protectionist in the establishment of his position than a child of five years is of decimal fractions. We have had a vivid illustration of this fact to-night. Prof. Gunton's philosophical discussion of the doctrine of protection on the basis of the equalized cost of labor production was to the last speaker a novelty. He could only meet it by ridicule and by the assertion that the speaker had evaded the subject of the evening. Yet I believe this to be the only ground on which the doctrine of protection can be logically sustained.

The protectionist claims that all industries should have the opportunity to start fairly, on grounds of equality. He holds that whatever is dug from the ground, grown in the soil, or produced in the factory at the same expenditure of human effort, should have an

equal chance in the markets. Protection does not stand on any ground of advocating a hot-house culture—it admits that some commodities can be better produced in one country than in another. Protectionists claim, however, that there is no opportunity to test the productive facilities of a country fairly and freely unless its labor is protected from ruinous competition with that of other nations, whose standard of living and of civilization is lower than its own. Protection aims merely to secure fair play and a true economical expenditure of effort.

It is a fundamental law of protection that one country—our own, for instance—can afford to have free trade with another only when the conditions of existence of the people in the other are as high as, or higher than, our own. The free-trader equalizes these conditions by lowering the standard of the higher. The protectionist equalizes them by a tariff on the product of the lower.

In this day and generation we must remember that a man is not only a creature of so many foot-pounds or horse-power, but a man in all that the term implies, with a soul and a heart, with hope and ambition, with fears and affections.

The protectionist protests against the sinful waste of human effort in transporting products across the seas which can be produced equally well or better on our own soil. The measure of cost is not dollars, but the amount of human effort expended in producing an article and laying it at the door of the consumer. An unnecessary expense of such labor is waste, and waste has never been justified.

MR. HENRY ROWLEY:

It is a little curious to me that in philosophy and politics and economics those questions which are considered fundamental present the greatest number of controversial points. Everything is "fundamental." The free-trader says: "No tariff." The protectionist says we must have a tariff as a police; but before Prof. Gunton's sliding scale all these things are temporary and shall pass away. No one agrees with any one else; therefore intolerance and bigotry are out of place. Any view should be advanced tentatively. Dogmatism is not in order.

Mark what attacks were made on free trade as a metaphysical view of the subject. The protectionist view is held up as scientific; but the scientific thing called "protection" was boldly assumed. When speaking of protection generally, we don't mean the police, nor a coat of mail, but the tariff, and protection in its commercial bearings.

If the professor goes down to the Bowery and meets his "sixteen-round" man, declines his invitation to defend his property with his fists, and hands over the dirty work to the police, morally he is as bad

as if he did it himself. Now, he regards the tariff as a policeman, and every other nation as a "sixteen-round" man. He profits by the tariff club, and lowers himself by its use! He says that the kind of protection which he wants is that which creates an understanding between the nations as to the levels of wages. It is different from all other kinds; it is to be commended for its greater excellence; but it contradicts his theory of a nation. If a nation is a highwayman, and we seek to create an understanding and equality with it, we place ourselves on the highwayman's level.

The professor was correct in leaving the subject of taxation severely alone. The logical result of protection is to stop importations; thus you stop the revenue, and must find it from other sources. It is the duty of the protectionist to devise another scheme of taxation if he would carry out his theory to its logical results.

While you are adjusting the wages level, how are you to deal meantime with the large proportion of people who can never get the benefit of protection—the 60, 70, 80, or even 90 per cent. who are altogether outside the possibility of getting protection? They can buy American corn or cheese cheaper in London than in New York. What is to come to America in return while we are adjusting the wage-level?

The protectionist concedes that it is not how much money is paid, but how much human effort is necessary to produce a certain article that determines its value. In this country we have produced nothing extravagantly, but everything naturally; the soil is rich, minerals lie near the surface, coal for smelting iron is here; no more human effort is necessary here than in England or on the Continent. Hence we are not at a disadvantage so far as human effort goes.

There may not be any way by which we can get entirely free trade or perfect protection; but let us hope that the future policy of the nation will be based upon broad lines of free exchange.

MR. WILLIAM POTTS:

I wish to make a demurrer to a historical statement of the lecturer as to the relation between prices and wages. The lecturer said that wages rise with prices. Unless I have sadly misread history, wages *follow* prices, rising slowly and inadequately.

PROF. GUNTON, in closing: The last shall be first in my reply: Let me first answer the criticism of Mr. Potts by repeating my statement about wages. I quoted Mr. Shearman, who said that "wages do not rise because prices rise." I say wages always follow prices; they do not rise *with* prices nor do they *fall* with prices. The laborer doesn't make his fight for higher wages until he is affected by the rise in

prices. But the history of the last four hundred years shows that wages do follow prices. And if Mr. Potts doubts that fact he need only consult Rogers, Eden, Tooke, or any other reliable history of prices.

Mr. Vinton complained that I did not talk about specific means of levying taxes and raising revenue. I was invited here to speak on the subject of protection from the standpoint of evolution. Hence it was protection as a sociological principle that I discussed. Had time permitted I would gladly have discussed the incidents of taxation. On the matter of levying taxes my position is just about opposite to that of the free-traders, and especially Mr. Vinton. He is opposed to a tariff except for revenue; I am entirely opposed to a tariff except for protection. Import duties are among the most clumsy, expensive, and offensive means of collecting revenue, and can never be economically justified except for the purpose of protection, which is always far more important than revenue. The gentleman, like all free-traders, favors direct taxation, and thinks taxes should be levied on the land. He evidently needs to begin his study of taxes over again. A land tax, instead of being direct, is the most indirect tax that can be levied, because it begins at the source of raw material and goes through every other product until it reaches the consumer. People who talk about concentrating taxes on land because they want direct taxation show an inability to distinguish between direct and indirect taxation. A direct tax is one which is so levied that it is finally paid by the man who advances it, which is one of the worst forms of taxation conceivable. It gives the greatest inducement to all the forms of tax-dodging and is essentially immoral in its effects. It is an evidence of confused thinking to mix the questions of protection and revenue. They have so little in common that they should never be considered together. Taxation for protection has nothing to do with revenue. If it yields revenue, that is the incident. It should be levied solely for the protection of our civilization, just as an army or navy should be maintained. Taxation for revenue is the reverse. That should be levied in the simplest manner, with the view of the minimum cost of collection and the least possible inconvenience to the citizen, and to do this it should be levied in the most indirect form possible instead of the most direct.

By indirect taxation we secure public improvements, clean cities, free kindergartens for the children, etc., and for these public benefits we make the surplus-receiving portion of the community pay. With direct taxation every one thinks he pays himself and sees to it that he pays as little as possible—so public improvements languish.

The machines and inventions referred to by the first critic are all agricultural—plows, spades, etc. Nothing was said about the inven-

tion of watch machinery, cotton machinery, and the other machinery of manufactures. If he says we had these before we had protection he will have to revise history.

In general, my statement that the theorists favor free trade and the practical men favor protection is true. The history of the discussion of the question for the last hundred years shows that the colleges are for free trade and the statesmen for protection. I endeavored to present protection as a workable principle, recognized in all governmental affairs, not confining it to the tariff.

Mr. Rowley repeats the oft-exploded error that "the logical result of protection is to stop importations." Now, from the principle of protection I have presented this evening, the logical result is nothing of the kind. Importations may continue indefinitely under such protection. To levy a tariff equivalent to the difference in wages simply raises the plane of competition up to the level of the labor cost in this country. Under such a tariff everybody would be free to import goods on that basis. If they could furnish the articles cheaper than American producers, after eliminating the difference in wages, they would be free to do so. In other words, our market is free to all foreign producers who can produce as cheaply as we can in America without paying lower wages. In a word, such a system of protection would keep out nobody except those whose low prices resulted from a lower civilization. To say protection is identical with prohibition is to misunderstand the economics of both protection and competition.

As a general business principle, whatever undersells succeeds. Whatever succeeds will establish its methods and vindicate them before the world—low wages or high, cheap living or dear, servility or manhood. If it succeeds by reason of superior methods, it will establish superior methods, and the world will have to follow its example. Such an example America is setting for the world, by reason of its adherence to the protective policy.

THE MONETARY PROBLEM

BY

WILLIAM POTTS

AUTHOR OF EVOLUTION AND SOCIAL REFORM: THE SOCIALISTIC METHOD
FORM AND COLOR IN NATURE, ETC.

COLLATERAL READINGS SUGGESTED:

Jevons's Investigations in Currency and Finance, and Money and the Mechanism of Exchange; Walker's Money, and Money in its Relation to Trade and Industry; Poor's Money and its Laws; Sumner's History of American Currency; Laughlin's History of Bimetallism in the United States; Price's History of Currency and Banking; Soetbeer's Precious Metals; Bagehot's Lombard Street; Cleveland's Banking System of New York; George's Short History of Paper Money and Banking in the United States; Mowry's Studies in Civil Government; Andrews's An Honest Dollar; Wallace's Bad Times; Knox's Pamphlets on the Silver Question; Peffer's The Farmer's Side; Alliance Tract on the Seven Financial Conspirators; Gunton's Principles of Social Economics.

THE MONETARY PROBLEM.

By William Potts.

It has been said of some one—was it not of Mr. Gladstone?—that he could make numbers sing. I wish that I also could make numbers sing to-night; and indeed, if I were able to do my subject justice, I should make numbers sing, for, believe me, there are few other subjects around which clings so much that is interesting, romantic, and poetic. But the restriction upon my time is such that I can do little more than give you a statement of facts and principles and let you make your own deductions.

When one small boy in the country has an excess of apples and another an excess of marbles, it is not an uncommon thing to have this disparity rectified by an exchange of commodities, and similar transactions have been known in the experience of most of us. The boys—who haven't much time—call this a "swap," but the books dignify it by giving it two syllables and naming it barter. Now, I suppose that no one has any doubt that in the earliest times barter was the process by which one person became possessed of the goods of another, when he was so unfortunate as to be unable to appropriate them without giving an equivalent, which was a still simpler method, formerly very common and not yet wholly out of vogue.

But pure barter was only practicable when each of the parties to the transaction immediately desired that which the other had. This condition frequently existed, but in a much larger number of cases a strong desire for a certain article was felt by one who had nothing to give in return for which the other party to the transaction had immediate need, on its own account. There were, however, certain things for which a use was sure to arise ultimately, and hence came a custom of employing such articles as intermediaries in exchange; they became *currency*—that is, they would *run* hither and thither, and this was particularly the case when they happened to be in the form of live stock. A vast number of commodities have been thus used at various times and in various places. Furs or skins were proba-

bly among the earliest so used, and they are doubtless still employed in some parts of the world. During the earlier period of the white settlement of this country they were the most common currency, under the name of peltry. During the pastoral stage oxen were the usual means of exchange, but you will probably agree that they were not readily subject to division, either decimally or otherwise, without injury to their value. But oxen as currency have this special interest: that, being counted by the head or *caput*, they appear to have given the title to accumulated means, as "capital." Slaves have been used from time to time as a means of facilitating exchange in this way, and it is hinted that this formerly occurred even in England.

The grains, corn, wheat, barley, etc., have been largely used as currency, and it is surprising that the advocates of the sub-treasury scheme do not appear to have noted that "in Norway corn is even deposited in banks, and lent and borrowed." In the colonial period in this country corn, tobacco, and dried codfish were in common use. These are all articles for which there is a great and constant demand to gratify human needs. I will except tobacco, for which I can not imagine any legitimate need upon the part of any human being. But I know that all do not agree with me.

Other articles have been serviceable, and among the most common some whose value was as ornaments, such as the cowrie and other shells, which, in the form of wampum or otherwise, have been largely used by barbarous peoples, and by those dealing with them. It is said that the Yankee traders with the Indians showed an ingenuity worthy of the heathen Chinee in the preparation of wampum, and through their industry provided so large a supply of currency that it should have satisfied the Alliance of that day, which I take to have been "the Six Nations."

These various commodities have often been in turn the almost exclusive currency or money of the people who used them, but frequently no such common money was recognized.

M. Wolowski, a French economist, prints a letter from a certain Mademoiselle Zélie, who in the course of a tour round the world gave a concert in the Society Islands. When she came to reckon up her share of the proceeds this is what she found: "Three pigs, twenty-three turkeys, forty-four chickens, five thousand cocoa-nuts, besides considerable quantities of bananas, lemons, and oranges." Whether the chick-

ens were old and tough, or whether they were legal-tender, is not stated.

At a very early period the metals came into use, mainly, doubtless, for two reasons—their comparative durability, and their intrinsic value. The same characteristics are found in jewels and precious stones, the ordinary use of which was of course almost wholly in ornament. These, however, had a special value in turbulent times, because, having become greatly prized at an early period, they would represent much other property in exchange, and, being very compact, they could be easily concealed and preserved from depredation. But these naturally became quickly the property of the chiefs of various orders, and the strong and shrewd, while the metals, being in common use by all, and of less exchangeable value relatively, although much more useful, soon came to move freely among the people at large; and this is true of all the familiar metals, though iron and bronze, being the earliest in common use, came earliest into use as currency.

At first they were exchanged in shapeless masses by weight or by bulk, but this custom gave place to a more regular form and amount, one of the earliest appearing to have been that of nails or spikes, each of which was called by the Greeks an obolus, a handful of six forming a drachma.

As the metals became more common, and property accumulated so that exchanges became more numerous and more extensive, the cheaper metals tended to give place to the scarcer, and those which were subject to rapid oxidation and change to those less easily affected by atmospheric conditions or other kinds of exposure. While all the metals which are commonly known appear to have been tried in turn in various places, and a number are still used either separately or in combination, everywhere the choice for the principal currency has finally fallen upon gold and silver, for perfectly satisfactory and conclusive reasons.

Though widely disseminated in very considerable quantities, and to be found in almost every locality—even in the soil of our own city—they have ordinarily been obtained only slowly and with much labor, so that the production is restricted; they are bright and pure in color, and not easily affected by chemical action; they are very malleable, are not brittle, and are well adapted for use in making a vast variety of articles, and have always been greatly prized by

all peoples for this purpose. Thus they have a constant value—constant in the sense of persistent, though not equal or similar at one time with another. Their value, in fact, appears to have varied greatly in several ways—differing in each case between one period and another, differing in their relative value to each other in the same place at different times, and differing in their relative value to each other in different places at the same time. Thus it appears that in early times silver was more valuable than gold in Arabia. "In the reign of Darius, son of Hystaspes, gold was thirteen times as valuable as silver; in the time of Plato, twelve; and in that of the comic poet Menander it was only ten. In the epoch of Julius Cæsar the ratio of gold to silver fell to 9 for 1." In England in 1262 it was between 9 and 10 for 1, while thirty years later it was 12½ for 1. In 1485 it was 13¾ for 1.

With the discovery of America in 1492, and especially with the conquest of Mexico in 1521, the production of the precious metals rapidly increased, and their relative values changed. In Spain at this period the recognized ratio was a little more than 10 to 1; in 1537 it was about 10½ to 1; during the reign of Philip II it was a little over 12 to 1; during the reign of Philip III, 13⅓ to 1; during the reign of Charles II, a little over 15 to 1; and in 1779 it was fixed at 16 to 1. (I follow Prof. Leone Levi, as quoted by Prof. Walker.) Various fluctuations occurred at a later date in the recognized ratio, at the present time that of the "Latin Union," so called (comprising France, Belgium, Italy, and Switzerland, to which have been added Greece, Roumania, Servia, and Spain), being 15½ to 1; that of the United States about 15·99 to 1; while the actual market value of the metals is at this time as 22·22 to 1. Within our own time the relative values in Japan were 4 to 1, but the avidity with which American and British traders sought to make exchanges at this rate very quickly taught the Japanese the necessity of a modification of their currency.

First passing from hand to hand in crude masses, then in the form of nails or spikes or rings or chains, at a very early period it became customary to divide the metals into definite portions, and to impress upon these some distinguishing device. This process of coinage has usually, although not invariably, been held to be a prerogative of the ruler or the state, and at times the effigies upon coins have been of a high artistic value. This may be said of certain coins even

now; of our own, however, perhaps it may be just as well not to speak.

Of the amount of the precious metals in the possession of the nations, or in use in the coinage at any period in the remote past, it is impossible to form any accurate or even closely approximate estimate upon which reliance can be placed. The amount has been continually changing—by a constantly fluctuating rate of production upon the one hand, and by consumption in the arts and the abrasion of coin in use upon the other. All these factors are important—the last, which at first thought might seem slight, being, on the contrary, of great moment, varying within wide limits according to the purity of the metals or the alloys employed. Thus, during the reign of Augustus, there was a vast store of gold and silver held as treasure in the Roman Empire. Within the following century great amounts of this had been thrown into active circulation, and, because of the inferior character of the alloys used, the loss by depreciation in weight became very large. This loss appears to have continued for a long period—many hundred years—during which period it was made more evident in Europe by a constant drain of silver to the East, where a relative preference for that metal has always existed.

Mr. Jacob, the leading authority upon this subject, estimates the stock of money in the empire on the accession of Augustus at £358,000,000 sterling, equal to $1,790,000,000. He supposes that for about eight hundred years the net loss to the coinage through abrasion, etc., was at the rate of about ten per cent every thirty-six years, so that the stock had sunk in 806 to less than £34,000,000 sterling, or $170,000,000, less than one tenth the amount in circulation at the time of the accession of Augustus. For the next seven hundred years Mr. Jacob estimates that the coinage was kept at about the same amount by the increased yield of the mines.

But then came the flood. At first in pattering drops, it did not seem likely to be much of a shower; but the discovery of America, followed by the conquest of Mexico and Peru, with the opening of the mines of Potosi and the discovery by Medina of the process of amalgamation, brought on the torrent. The estimated production of the New World up to 1545 was over £17,000,000, or half as much as the entire estimated stock on hand at the time of Columbus's first voyage. Mr. Jacob estimates that the stock of

money current in Europe had increased during the century up to the year 1600 from £34,000,000 to £130,000,000, that the next hundred years increased it to £297,000,000, and the following one hundred and ten years, onward to 1810, had brought it up to £380,000,000. And this after making ample allowance for abrasion, and an allowance of £440,000,000 as consumed in the arts, etc., and £400,000,000 as passed onward to Asia.

Properly, to complete this portion of our history, I should say that after 1810, for a considerable number of years, the demand of the arts and the drain to the East, taken together, were so great as seriously to diminish the amount of the precious metals in circulation, and to excite an apprehension of a currency famine, a period of twenty years apparently showing an actual loss of over £60,000,000 sterling. But this period was followed by a greatly increased production of gold in Russia and Siberia, and this in turn by the enormous discoveries in California, in Australia, and in southern Africa, which have wholly changed the situation. If we had a flood following the discovery of America, what shall we say of the deluge which has poured over the world since 1848? The value of the gold and silver produced in the twenty years following that date has been calculated at over £1,000,000,000 sterling, or $5,000,000,000, about two thirds of which was gold and one third silver. Since 1868 the production has been nearly, if not quite, as great, the value of the silver product being about equal to that of the gold. But, whereas, in 1849, if the figures of Prof. Raymond and the Director of the Mint are to be trusted, the total value of the gold mined in the United States was eight hundred times the total value of the silver so mined, in 1890 the ratio of production had so far changed that the value of the silver mined was 78 per cent greater than that of the gold. That is, whereas, in 1849 the total production in the United States was of gold about 59½ tons and of silver about 1½ tons, in 1890 the total production of gold was about 44½ tons and the production of silver over 1,500 tons. Try to realize this if you can, and think of the Herculean, the impossible effort called for in the attempt to maintain the old ratio of values between these metals.

The use of the metals as money in exchange—at first, as we have seen, spontaneous and irregular—as society has advanced has tended to become steadily more precise and definite, and to come under the absolute control of the domi-

nant authority in each state. Premising that all other metals than gold and silver are now used only incidentally and in the minor currency, we may divide the nations into three classes: those which are upon a silver basis, or whose recognized standard and legal tender is silver; those which are upon a gold basis; and those which have a mixed coinage, or so-called double standard.

A silver standard practically prevails throughout Asia and the East India Islands, parts of Africa, the West Indies, Central America and Mexico, the stationary, semi-civilized, or barbarous nations. (The actual unit of value in China, however, is, I believe, the *cash*, a small coin composed of copper, iron, and tin.) The gold standard exists in Great Britain and many of her dependencies, such as Australia and New Zealand, in the German Empire, Denmark, Norway, Sweden, Portugal, Turkey, Egypt, Chili and Brazil, and some other South American countries. The double or multiple standard, so called, is nominally maintained by France, Italy, Belgium and Switzerland, Spain, Greece and Roumania, connected in the Latin Union, and by Peru, Ecuador, New Granada, and the United States. In Europe, however, the coinage of silver is so closely restricted in amount (having in fact been nearly or quite abandoned for many years) as to establish what is called a "limping standard," by producing a condition somewhat similar to that which exists under the single gold standard, and which existed in this country a few years ago, silver and other metals being used as a subsidiary coinage, only in limited amounts, made purposely of metal worth less than their face value, and a legal tender only for very small sums. This is what is called a "token" currency, and is readily maintained as a convenience in exchange by closely limiting its extent.

In this distribution of the different standards I have followed the authorities accessible to me; it is possible that in one or two instances changes may recently have taken place.

In the beginning of the United States coinage, in 1792, gold and silver were both adopted, with a ratio of 15 to 1. Gold, being underrated, according to the values at that date, quickly disappeared from the circulation and commanded a premium, and in 1836 the Secretary of the Treasury said that two years before, of all the gold which had been coined since the establishment of the Mint, not over $1,000,000 remained in the country, and only a very diminutive portion of that was in active circulation. In 1834 the ratio was

changed to 16 to 1, and in 1837 it was again changed to about 15·99 to 1. Silver, being undervalued, went out of circulation, giving place to gold, so that, though the Mint continued to coin silver, it immediately disappeared, leaving the old worn pieces and the weather-beaten coins of Spain and Mexico, upon which it was sometimes impossible, as I well remember, to distinguish any trace of the original marks of the die. In 1853 the effort to make the coins circulate together was practically abandoned; the value of the smaller silver coins was reduced considerably below their representative value, thus making them a subsidiary coinage, and they were made a legal tender only in sums of five dollars or less. In 1873 the gold dollar was made the unit of value, and all silver coins were made subsidiary, thus abolishing the double standard. The ridiculous charge has been often made that this change was effected maliciously by interested parties, surreptitiously, and without any understanding as to its meaning, the fact, however, being that the bill was drawn three or four years before it was passed, that it was printed thirteen times by Congress, and that its provisions were finally considered and discussed for several days, their bearing being distinctly stated; and, moreover, neither gold nor silver was in circulation or had been for eleven years previous, and neither came into circulation for more than five years after the passage of the bill.

It is now proper that I should call your attention to one or two definitions and distinctions which are important. In economical discussion, as in discussions upon other topics, many if not most of the differences which arise come from lack of precision in the use of terms. We can not undertake to settle any disputed points in nomenclature here, but we can at least avoid confusion by stating clearly our own meaning.

In the first place, what is money? Various definitions have been given to this apparently simple term. Let us adopt that of General Francis A. Walker, than which I think that it would be difficult to find a better (I quote at second hand from the Encyclopædia Britannica): "That which passes freely from hand to hand throughout the community in final discharge of debts and full payment for commodities, being accepted equally without reference to the character or credit of the person who offers it, and without the intention of the person who receives it to consume it or enjoy it or apply it to any other use than in turn to tender

it to others in discharge of debts or payment for commodities."

Now, why have the various articles which at sundry times and places have been used as money been called into existence? What is the special need which they satisfy? As money, we can not eat them or drink them, or cover ourselves with them, or use them as ornament. Perhaps I am a little too fast in the latter particular; coins have not been an uncommon decoration in Africa and Polynesia, and, if I mistake not, I have within a moderate number of years seen them so used by maidens of Yankee birth. But this can hardly be considered an important use. Money is a *tool* with which certain functions are performed, just as a spade is a tool for the performance of certain other functions. These functions are various, and they are not always necessarily united in the one instrument.

In the first place, money is a medium of exchange to facilitate barter. It is not the money in which we are interested; it is the articles or services which we give for it in order that we may readily and at our pleasure obtain other articles or services upon its surrender. While we have it, it is of no value to us—or is of merely a nominal value, which becomes real as we get rid of it. In order to perform this function to the full, it is absolutely essential that it should be held at the same value by him who gives and by him who takes it—I mean the same value in exchange. For mark you, money under the definition which we have adopted has not necessarily any value excepting in exchange. But how does it acquire this value in exchange? In one of three ways: it must have an intrinsic value for which it will pass from hand to hand; or, second, it must be by its conditions exchangeable into some particular thing which has intrinsic value; or, third, it must be of limited amount and receivable by the Government in settlement of certain extensive claims, such as taxes; this is really a form of the second condition.

This brings us to the question, What *is* a standard of value? A standard or measure of value is that which is used to determine the exchangeable values of other commodities or services. This can at any one time be only one article, in the nature of things. A double standard is a misnomer. The buyer and the seller of a piece of cloth must either use the same yardstick, or one yardstick must be calculated in terms of the other. But this shows us that

a certain article which is truly money in the sense of our definition is not necessarily the standard of value, but merely has, from some cause, a definite relation to that standard, which must itself have an intrinsic value, else there is no means of determining its relation to the value of other things. This standard is of special importance in its relation to the third function of which I have to speak—that is, as a means of regulating deferred payments, or the settlement of accounts which are in the nature of debts, which, instead of being instances of immediate barter, are cases of barter in the consummation of which months, years, or even generations may intervene. In performing this function, as we shall shortly see, all commodities which have been in use hitherto as money have been most defective.

I have shown that gold or silver, or gold *and* silver, have been settled upon by civilized nations as the standard or standards of value, with a strong and increasing tendency, as I believe history conclusively shows, to the final choice of gold alone. Now, what is it that determines the values of these metals? What is it that determines the value of any commodity or service? This is a complex question and could only be answered approximately by introducing many suggestions and stating many relations. Why a pound of gold should be considered worth so many dollars, and not one tenth as many or ten times as many, is simply to call for the answer that it has been decreed that a pound of gold should be divisible into so many parts, to each of which the name dollar is given. But why a pound of gold will buy just so much beef, or so much mechanical labor, or so many sermons, is quite another question. It is sufficient to say that the actual present exchangeable value of all sorts of commodities is the outgrowth of human experience through human labor, human needs, and human whims, and the establishment of human customs. The socialist will tell you that the basis of all value is labor, and labor only, and that exchangeable value results from this fact, and that in the coming socialistic state the prices of all commodities will be easily fixed by the chosen authorities upon this principle. Statements like this, so freely made and so easily swallowed, to use the convenient, expressive, and picturesque phrase of the street, "make me tired." Nothing is easier to prove than that existing prices are *not* solely the result of labor, and nothing is easier than to show that the determination of the labor value of all commodities

is impossible to the wisest of human beings or any collection of the wisest of human beings—to say nothing of the Board of Aldermen of the city of Weissnichtwo. Suppose a commodity is raised from the mines under certain conditions of labor in one quarter of the globe; it is then transported on human backs over rocky mountains, or upon railroads, or upon broad rivers, or upon the ocean, or upon all in turn; it is passed from hand to hand; it is lifted and lowered and forged and hammered; it is manufactured simply by human strength and skill, or it is worked over in a great mill with numberless labor-saving appliances; it is again transported and exchanged, and made over into new combinations; it goes from hand to hand and from land to land, and finally enters into the construction of some article which is offered for sale in the communal storehouse of the great city of Weissnichtwo, at its labor value to be calculated by our wise fathers of the people chosen by popular vote. I think that we may turn this suggestion down.

No; it is sufficient to say that by hard labor and by hard knocks, by the competition of production and the competition of desire, by superstitious fancies rubbing upon philosophical speculations and ground against practical needs modified by acquired habits, commodities have gained a certain more or less stable relation of value to each other, and of price as measured by the standard of exchange. It is with *price* that we now have to do; that is, the exchangeable ratio of articles as expressed in money.

At this time the price of articles in most civilized nations is their exchangeable value as expressed in terms of gold, and the exchangeable value of gold (as of silver also) is based upon the desire of mankind for it, for its use in the arts and its use in coinage. This value, as we have seen, has differed greatly at various periods (as has the value of silver) from various causes, but largely on account of the greater or less amount of it available. Now, for the performance of two of the three functions which I have defined, gold and silver are very satisfactory: first as media of exchange, and second in either case, though not in both at once, as a standard or measure of value for immediate purposes. They are in each case only moderately satisfactory or are quite unsatisfactory as a standard of value for deferred payments, or what I have described as suspended barter, according to the length of the period covered, because of the fluctuations in their own value, and for this reason: that if their value rises,

a return must be made at a greater cost than the original investment, while if their value falls, the return is inadequate. Very serious injustice has been inflicted in times past by changes of this character, although I believe these changes have hitherto been incidental and unintentional, except in the cases of criminal debasements of the coinage by rulers when short of funds. It has remained for the bucolic reformers of our own country and our own time deliberately to propose a wholesale confiscation of a large percentage of the property of others in this way, as I shall indicate presently.

Instead of seeking methods of increasing the injustice which is now possible even under ordinary careful management, economists have sought to devise means by which it may be reduced. Perhaps the most hopeful scheme is that suggested by Prof. Jevons. I think he conclusively shows that, were it possible for the nations to agree upon bimetallism at a certain fixed ratio and to adhere to it, the fluctuation in the standard would be less than at present, because the metals vary in value irregularly, and the actual standard being by Gresham's law always the less valuable metal, the variations would be less wide, with a steady tendency, however, toward a depreciation of the currency and an increase in prices. (Gresham's law, as it is called, is simply a deduction from experience that when two metals are associated in the currency, and one of them is produced in excess or a greater demand arises for one than the other, unless some unusual or abnormal influence should interfere, the less valuable metal will become the actual currency, the more valuable being hoarded or otherwise withdrawn from circulation.) But to my mind it is perfectly clear, however it may be to others, that there is not the slightest chance in the world, at least within any reasonable period, that the nations will reach such an agreement and maintain it. And without such a common agreement it is, in my judgment, as inevitable as the rising and setting of the sun that sooner or later, from a nation which uses vast quantities of two metals in its currency, of which one is greatly overvalued, as is the case in the United States to-day, the more valuable will flee away into foreign parts and the less valuable will be left master of the field.

Prof. Jevons, following Mr. Joseph Lowe and Mr. G. Poulett Scrope, proposes the establishment of a government department the officers of which "would collect the current

prices of commodities in all the principal markets of the kingdom, and, by a well-defined system of calculations, would compute from these data the average variations in the purchasing power of gold. The decisions of this commission would be published monthly, and payments [that is, deferred payments] would be adjusted in accordance with them. Thus, suppose that a debt of one hundred pounds was incurred upon the 1st of July, 1875, and was to be paid back on the 1st July, 1878; if the commission had decided in June, 1878, that the value of gold had fallen in the ratio of 106 to 100 in the interval, then the creditor would claim an increase of six per cent in the nominal amount of the debt," and *vice versa* if the value of gold had risen.

Before I leave this branch of my subject let me just allude to a matter which has been much debated, and in regard to which apparently little more than a petty national jealousy has hitherto prevented the consummation of a great reform: I mean the establishment of a convenient international money by the adjustment of the values of the several currencies. A reduction of the value of the American dollar, and a similar reduction in other American coins of about three and a half per cent, would make our half-eagle of precisely the same value as the French napoleon, and a reduction of less than one per cent in the value of the English sovereign would make it an exact equivalent also. Similar adjustments could readily be made in the coins of other nations, the whole resulting in a great simplification of all commercial exchange.

The exchangeable value of commodities having been settled upon by the use of some standard of value, it is not at all necessary that the commodity or commodities which form the standard should be used in the exchange. That is a matter of very minor importance, and it is the lack of recognition of this fact which is at the bottom of almost all the financial heresies of the day, and of any day. Instead of the currency, of whatever kind, a page of a book, or a sheet of paper, with pen and ink or a lead-pencil, or the side of a barn or a saloon window and a piece of chalk, or even a good memory, will do perfectly. Suppose I buy from a farmer hay, and wheat, and butter, and eggs, and beef, and mutton, and strawberries, and apples, and I put down upon a memorandum book the articles that I buy and the prices at which I buy them. And the farmer buys from me spades, and plows, and harrows, and forks, and mowing machines,

as he wants them, and I put them down with their prices upon my memorandum book; when I get to the foot of the page or to the end of the month or the year, I find that the two sides balance, and the farmer and I are quits; or I find that he still owes me a sum of money, and I send word to him that I am ready for my winter's supply of potatoes. This is a type of a myriad of transactions—of a number far beyond computation.

And this brings us to the consideration of banking and paper money—two things which are classed together, but which have no necessary connection, and which I am inclined to believe, in the most healthy condition of money and exchange relations, would have no connection whatever. We are so accustomed to bank-notes in this country that many people—undoubtedly, I imagine, the vast majority of the agitators of the land at least—suppose that the issue of currency is the principal function of the banks. Nothing could be farther from the truth, although, curiously enough, it seems to have crept into the syllabus which has been provided for my lecture; at least that is what seems to me to be implied by the sentence, "What is the true banking system for the American nation?" I presume that what is mainly meant is: In what manner, if in any, should paper money be issued in the United States? For the purpose of making this clear, let us examine into the true function of banking and into the nature and peculiarities of paper money.

What is a bank? It is an institution which receives from its customers and cares for the funds of which they have no immediate need, and it makes its profit by loaning to its customers at interest such portion of these funds as experience has shown that it can judiciously part with, reserving, however, beyond that which is likely to be drawn, a considerable additional amount as a margin of safety. It usually pays no interest to its depositors, and as in case it is successful it receives a large amount of interest from its borrowers, it frequently makes handsome profits. It earns its money honestly, for it is serviceable both ways; it relieves its depositors of irksome care, while it is bound to deliver their money the moment it is called for, and it furnishes money to those who are in need at the market rate, or often below the market rate.

I have given a very brief description of a bank as a business institution. But such a description gives very little

idea of its importance as an agent in the modern business community. The depositor, when he has once placed his money in bank, does not usually go after it again when he wishes to use it; he merely gives a check or order upon the bank to the party to whom he desires to convey the money. Nor does this man usually go to the bank for the money; ordinarily he either hands the check to another party to whom he wishes to pay money, or he deposits it to his own credit in the same or another bank. If he deposits it in the same bank, the clerk of the bank simply makes the proper charges upon the books, and the transaction is closed, as I have already shown in the transactions between the farmer and myself, without payment of any money. If the check is deposited in another bank, then the transaction is closed in a similar way through the clearing house.

The clearing house is the bank of the banks. In New York, for instance, every morning clerks from each of the associated banks proceed to the clearing house, carrying along with them in classified packages the checks drawn upon other banks which were received on deposit the previous day. These packages are there exchanged, and each bank has its account stated just as I had with the farmer in the former case. If I represent bank No. 1, the clearing house owes me for all the bundles of checks which I present, drawn upon banks Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, etc., and in turn I owe the clearing house for all the bundles of checks upon bank No. 1 presented by the clerks from banks Nos. 2, 3, 4, 5, etc. My account is footed, and results in a balance owing to or by my bank as the case may be, and this balance is adjusted by the exchange of certificates representing gold coin deposited in the United States Treasury, and by a small amount in legal tenders and in gold coin itself. The amount of ordinary money used in these stupendous transactions is almost infinitesimal. You will get some idea of the magnitude of the operations involved from this extract from a letter from my friend Mr. William A. Camp, manager of the New York Clearing House:

"The transactions of this city, Brooklyn, and Jersey City, as settled by checks passing through the New York Clearing House, have averaged per year for the past five years $34,449,577,235.15. The average balances resulting from these exchanges were $1,647,027,594.22.

"The average exchanges per day for the same period were $113,019,011.01, and the balances $5,403,941.40."

The exchanges for yesterday, Saturday, January 23, 1892, amounted to $139,511,549.28, and the balances to $4,102,-630.20.

I greatly regret that I am compelled to make the briefest possible mention of the last and most powerful device of modern banking. This is the combination of the associated banks in times of panic and business stress, under a compact by which they agree to make common cause in support of public credit, through the issue of clearing-house certificates to such of their members as may be threatened with disaster because of inability to meet instantly such demands as may be made upon them. It seems not too much to hope that through this expedient a money crisis may hereafter be usually brought to a halt in its early stages unless bad business methods and actual insolvency should be at the root of the trouble.

To give some idea of the relative importance of certain items in the accounts of the banks, without going into confusing details, I may say that for the week ending yesterday the banks in the New York Clearing House had in their vaults, on the average, specie and legal tenders amounting to $157,371,000, while they owed their depositors $497,472,-400, and their total circulation amounted to $5,566,700, numbers of the banks having none and most of them having less than $50,000 apiece. They have so little because it is not profitable to them, and they only have so much because upon the national banks the law seeks to urge it. This is a somewhat significant fact when taken in connection with the cry of the demagogue against the national banks because of the enormous privilege which they enjoy in the issue of circulating notes.

In 1861, at the beginning of the war, there were in circulation in this country more than 10,000 different kinds of notes "issued by the authority of thirty-four different States and under more than forty different statutes." The circulation amounted to $202,000,000, and bad enough a great deal of it was. "Wild-cat" banks were organized in all sorts of out-of-the-way places, merely for the purpose of foisting their notes upon the people, and all sorts of schemes were adopted to get these notes into circulation. And, of course, the loss by the failure of the banks to redeem their notes was enormous, and, as in all cases of an imperfect or bad currency, the greatest sufferers were the poorest and most needy of the people.

When the National Bank Act was passed, all these bank issues were taxed out of existence, and they were gradually replaced by the notes of the national banks, which at one time amounted to $352,394,346, and now amount to about $173,000,000. They can be increased to any extent, provided the banks are willing to pay the cost of issuing and circulating them.

These notes are receivable for taxes and all other dues to the United States Government excepting duties on imports, and are secured by a deposit of United States bonds, worth more than the value of the notes. The banks are obliged to redeem them on presentation in "lawful money," which means coin or legal tenders. In case the banks fail to redeem them, the Government undertakes to do so. They are, therefore, safe, if the Government is financially solvent, and they pass freely all over the country, although, of course, not outside of it excepting by special contract. They are, therefore, beyond comparison, better than those which they superseded. If we must have a currency consisting in part of bank notes, it will be difficult to devise anything superior to these.

Now let us turn to Government issues of paper currency. Of these the history is long, and, truth to say, it has been for the most part a sad, sad history of disaster, of broken fortunes, and of broken lives and broken hearts.

I believe our first record dates back to the beginning of the ninth century, and our chronicler is the traveler Marco Polo, who found in China a currency called "chao," made of the inner bark of the mulberry tree, the pieces having value according to their size, and being issued "with as much solemnity and authority as if they were of pure gold or silver." This money was issued in enormous quantities and rapidly depreciated in exchangeable value, so that in 1448 it was worth 0·003, and after 1455 it ceases to be mentioned.

The Persians followed about 1294 with a paper money in which they imitated the Chinese, and which they called by the same name. "After two or three days of enforced circulation the markets were closed, the people rose, the officials were murdered, and the project was abandoned."

Passing by the experience of other nations and coming across seas, we find the various American colonies also buying their experience. It is strange how *peoples* as well as *people* so generally desire personally "to see the folly" of

those things of which their fathers tell them. They do not seem to realize the advantages of the discrimination which was so well expressed by a certain brilliant lawyer and prominent New York Republican when he said: "I *may* be a Republican, but it does not necessarily follow that I am *always* a —— fool." The nations seem to be pretty much always —— fools when it comes to certain questions.

One after another the several colonies undertook to eke out their slender supply of currency by the use of paper notes. These bills were usually issued at first in small amounts; then came by degrees greater and greater issues; "new tenors" would be issued to take up "old tenors" at a specified rate, and these again would perhaps be followed by a third. And of course it was nuts to the politicians, as it is to-day, and has always been. As General Walker says, speaking of Rhode Island: "'Governors were elected and turned out, as the different interests happened to prevail.' The debtor party needed only to come into power once in ten or five years to secure the privilege of paying their creditors off at pretty much any rate they might choose to fix as convenient and agreeable to themselves." What the debtor party now propose we shall see when we come to consider Senator Peffer and the Farmers' Alliance. The Rhode Island notes were finally redeemed at the rate of 6 shillings lawful money for £8 old tenor notes, and this is a fair sample of the result elsewhere.

In Pennsylvania the paper money was based upon the land, and Governor Pownall wrote: "I will venture to say that there never was a wiser or a better measure, never one better calculated to serve the uses of an increasing country; that there never was a measure more steadily or more faithfully pursued for forty years together than the loan office in Pennsylvania." Yet this currency depreciated so that in 1748 exchange on London was at 180 or 190.

With the outbreak of the war for independence came a new flood of bills from the presses of the colonies, as well as a continental currency issued by the authority of Congress. Of these new colonial bills I happen to have specimens on the desk before me which I have had in my possession more years than I care to mention. They are dated in 1772, 1773, 1774, and 1776. I did not receive them until after those dates. You would probably be interested in examining them, but they are too frail now for it to be safe to pass them around the room. These which I hold in my hand

were issued by the Colony of New Jersey, these by Maryland, these again by Pennsylvania, and these by the counties of New Castle, Kent, and Sussex upon Delaware; of the latter, this for 10 shillings was printed by Benjamin Franklin and D. Hall. It has upon one side of it an imposing procession, consisting of a stork or pelican or bird of that ilk, followed by an elephant not quite so tall, and a beast which I am not quite sure of, but which is either a contemplative cat with its finger in its mouth, or an owl, or something of that sort. And it also has upon it the usual inscription, "To counterfeit is death."

The issue of continental currency began in June, 1775, with $2,000,000. By December, 1776, there were $25,000,000 outstanding, and the bills were at fifty per cent discount. In December, 1778, when the issue amounted to over $100,000,000, Congress issued an address in which it was written: "We should pay an ill compliment to the understanding and honor of every true American were we to adduce many arguments to show the baseness or bad policy of violating our national faith, or omitting to pursue the measures necessary to preserve it. A bankrupt, faithless republic would be a novelty in the political world, and appear among reputable nations like a common prostitute among chaste and respectable matrons. . . . Apprised of these consequences, knowing the value of national character, and impressed with a due sense of the immutable laws of justice and honor, it is impossible that America should think without horror of such an execrable deed." Strong words! The issues were heavily increased during the year 1779. In January, coin was worth 8 to 1; in May, 24 to 1; in October, 30 to 1; in November, 38½ to 1. In March, 1780, certificates were issued at the rate of 1 to 40, and these new certificates soon sank to one eighth of their value. The greater part of the original issue was not brought in for redemption, but after about a year more fell to 1,000 to 1, and then, as Dr. Ramsey says, "Like an aged man, expiring by the decays of Nature, without a sigh or a groan, it gently fell asleep in the hands of its last possessors." The total war issues of colonial and continental currency up to 1783 were about $450,000,000. Dr. Ramsey states the results thus: "The property of the inhabitants, in a considerable degree, changed its owners. Many opulent persons, of ancient families, were ruined by selling paternal estates for a depreciating paper currency, which in a few weeks would not replace half of

the real property in exchange for which it was obtained. Many bold adventurers made fortunes in a short time by running in debt beyond their abilities. Prudence ceased to be a virtue and rashness usurped its place."

One more illustration before we come down to our own time. In this I shall mainly condense from Prof. Walker, whom in many cases I have followed heretofore.

In 1789 revolutionary France was hard pressed for money; the Minister Neckar opposed the issue of paper. The experience of France under John Law had been bitter; the struggle was long. But the advocates of paper money prevailed. A speaker argued before the Constituent Assembly: "Paper money under a despotism is dangerous. It favors corruption; but in a nation constitutionally governed, which itself takes care of its own notes, which determines their number and their use, that danger no longer exists." Have we not heard something similar to this in more recent times?

It was determined to make the paper absolutely safe. It was based upon the church and other lands which had been confiscated and made the property of the state. Mirabeau said it was in vain to "assimilate assignats, secured on the solid basis of these domains, to an ordinary paper money having a forced circulation. They represent real property, the most secure of all possessions, the soil on which we tread." Have we not recently heard something like this also? Mirabeau said: "This paper money can never become redundant, any more than the humidity of the atmosphere can become excessive, which descends in rills, finds the river, and is at length lost in the mighty ocean."

The first issue of 400,000,000 francs was followed in 1790 by a further issue of 800,000,000. It was provided that the paper paid into the Treasury should be burned, and solemnly decreed that the total amount should never exceed 1,200,000,000 francs; and in the middle of the following year 600,000,000 more were issued. Then coin began to disappear and industry collapsed. Factories were closed and "vast numbers of workmen, in all parts of the country, were thrown out of employment." Capitalists declined to embark in business, and the "demand for labor was still further diminished." "The business of France dwindled to a mere living from hand to mouth." President White says: "Commerce was dead; betting took its place." As always when the currency is inflated, the poor were the worst sufferers, the gamblers and the speculators the ones who reaped a profit.

The debtor class came forward with a demand for further issues to scale down their debts; 300,000,000 more were put out, and to them were added in '92 another 600,000,000. "Still, as the assignats poured from the Treasury in increasing volume, the cry of the scarcity of the circulating medium grew louder." Then the cry became: "Bread or blood." The Government felt that the depreciation in the currency must be stopped: "the purchase of specie was forbidden under penalty of six years in irons." "Then came a law prohibiting the sale of assignats below their nominal value, on penalty of twenty years in chains. Soon came another law, punishing with death investment of capital in foreign countries." (Do you remember that in 1864, under the lead of Thaddeus Stevens, the United States Congress forbade the purchase and sale of gold on time, with the immediate effect of increasing the premium with such rapidity that the act was repealed within fifteen days?) By the end of 1794, 7,000,000,000 francs had been issued; by about a year later 45,000,000,000 had been issued, of which 36,000,000,000 were in actual circulation—about $20 worth of which would have bought a five-cent measure of peanuts if they happened to be in the market.

Then came the "new tenor." "Territorial mandates" were issued for assignats at the rate of 1 to 30. These rapidily depreciated until they were worth one one-thousandth of their nominal value, making the assignats worth about one thirty-thousandth. This was the end. July 1, 1796, about seven years after the first embarkation upon this perilous voyage, a decree was issued authorizing every one "to transact business in the money and on the terms he chose." Specie immediately reappeared in circulation, goods and commodities of all sorts became very cheap, the exchanges turned in favor of France, a metallic currency was permanently restored, "and during all the terrific wars of Napoleon the metallic standard was always maintained at full value."

Within the present century many nations have gone through the delectable experience of an inconvertible paper currency—France, Russia, Austria, Italy, certain countries of South America, and the United States—and many of them are still wrestling with it. Our own experience is unfamiliar only to the younger of you, and yet, so short is memory, it seems that the story must be explicitly recalled to prevent our again lapsing into the same condition, without the

slightest justification under heaven excepting the hope on the part of certain political farmers, political merchants, or political bankers, that they may in the resulting scramble be able to get the better of those to whom they now owe money, or reap a profit out of the gambling which must inevitably result.

The rebellion overtly began in April, 1861. The bill authorizing the issue of legal-tender currency to the amount of $150,000,000, subsequently increased to $400,000,000, became a law in February of the next year. By July gold was at 20 per cent premium; six months later it was at 60 per cent premium; in another month it was at 72 per cent; then it fell off for a while, but in April, 1864, it was at 78 per cent; June 15, it was at 97 per cent; fourteen days later it was at 150 per cent; and July 11, it was at 185½ per cent premium, its highest point. All prices were deranged, families were impoverished, speculation became wild; conservative, careful business men in great numbers were ruined, reckless gamblers accumulated enormous fortunes.

But the worst results experienced in previous cases were not reached. A limit to the issues was put and maintained; subsequently, under the wise management of Secretary McCulloch, the amount outstanding was even reduced to $356,000,000, and, though the contraction was there stayed, the nation nerved herself to the re-establishment of her credit, and upon the first of January, 1879, specie payment was resumed.

As we have seen, six years earlier we had placed ourselves nominally upon a gold basis; but in the February preceding the resumption of specie payments the coinage of the legal-tender silver dollar had been re-authorized at the rate of $2,000,000 per month. This rate has been changed from time to time, and the amount of silver purchased by the Treasury is now 4,500,000 ounces per month, or more than the total amount of silver at present produced in this country. The Treasury pays the market price for the silver, which is now 71$\frac{9}{10}$ cents for the amount contained in a dollar, and gets it off at par into circulation when possible, or issues paper currency representing it. It has been found impossible to circulate any large amount of the metal itself, and the Treasury Department has been compelled to construct warehouses to store it in. The amount now so stored and in circulation is between four and five hundred millions of dollars. As Mr. David A. Wells graphically describes it,

it would require an army of much more than 200,000 men, each bearing more than 100 pounds of metal, to carry it.

Now, in this situation there are two things to be considered: First, the amount of our circulation to-day, coin and paper together, is vastly greater than at any previous period. I am aware that Senator Peffer states the contrary, but this is only one of the innumerable misstatements and misrepresentations with which his book is filled from cover to cover. The Secretary of the Treasury, in a letter to the recent Bankers' Convention at New Orleans, said: "The amount of money in circulation is greater than at any previous time in the history of the country, and more per capita than in any of the leading commercial nations of the world except France." It is stated that in 1860 our per capita circulation was $13.83. It was $10.23 in 1862; $20.57 in 1865 (Peffer says $58.95); $17.50 in 1870; $15.32 in 1878, and it is now calculated at from $23.45 to $24.56.

Since 1880 the per capita circulation has increased from $18.79 to, say, $23.45. During the same period the rate of failures in business has increased from 1 in 158 in 1880 to 1 in 102 in 1890.

The circulation is much greater per capita than that of Great Britain, the leading commercial nation. And yet the cry is now, as during the issue of French assignats, Oliver's cry for "more." One bill that I have before me calls for $2,000,000,000 of paper, each bill being absolutely money and not in the form of promise. Colonel Livingston, of the Georgia State Alliance, says: "All that we insist upon is thus briefly stated: We demand that the amount of circulating medium be speedily increased to not less than $50 per capita." Senator Peffer presents a bill for the issue of notes in twenty-eight different denominations from one mill to $5,000. Now, how large a proportion of the population, think you, habitually carry around with them on the average $10 apiece, or would have any possible need to do so? With our modern credit system and banking facilities, the need of money in hand, instead of being increased, has been vastly reduced, immeasurably reduced. I had expected to spend some time upon this point, but my restrictions render this impossible. You must draw your own inferences from what I have said of the banking system.

Mr. Peffer, who has been lifted into the prominence of the United States Senate, where he appears as the representative of the movement which is called the Farmers' Al-

liance, tells us what is to be done with the new "money," as he calls it. It is to be loaned at one per cent interest to farmers to enable them to pay off their debts. And he says: "The object of this writing is to show an honorable way out by helping the poor and doing no wrong to the rich." "'The way out' proposes to help debtors not to get rid of their debts, but to pay them, and in good money." History has shown us the value of this "good money." The excuse which is offered is that the debts were made when the circulation was larger, and that their payment in the present circulation would be an unjust burden. This is absolutely false. The majority of these debts were made at a time when the per capita circulation was much smaller than at present.

The assumption that an inflated circulation would aid the farmer and the laborer is the wildest absurdity. All history disproves it. It is the speculator, the gambler, who is profited by it. It is customary to fling at *Wall Street* as something especially hideous. Peffer's book is full of such flings. Now, if I had time, I should not have the slightest difficulty in showing that Wall Street is the axle upon which the business wheel of the country turns; that, relatively to the amount of business transacted, there is less financial dishonesty in Wall Street than anywhere else in the country; and after many years' experience in Wall Street, I can earnestly say that the strongest lesson which it conveys to my mind is that of the essential honesty of human nature. I speak of Wall Street now, however, to say that Wall Street opposes all schemes for inflation, notwithstanding that Wall Street would inevitably profit by such schemes.

Now, it is impossible for me to stop to give the data, but it is a notorious fact of history, of which any of you can assure himself by a very moderate amount of study, that when the circulation has become very meager, in proportion to the extent of the demand upon it for exchanges, prices have fallen to a very low point, while, contrariwise, when the circulation has been abundant or excessive, prices have become very high.* This statement will be recognized as

* It should be observed that I have endeavored to qualify this statement in such a way as to avoid misconstruction. I have no disposition to enter into the long discussion upon the "volume of currency." My friend Mr. Cowperthwait, whose little volume, just come to hand, is certainly one of the most valuable of the year, appears to me to spend an unnecessary amount of space upon it. I wholly agree with him that the extension of banking and the credit system are relegating the matter of the volume of the currency to a position of very minor importance, and

almost a truism; it is a fact within the experience of most of you. It is as familiar a fact that the rise and fall are extremely irregular in their course and effect in regard to different commodities and different services, and that by such fluctuation in the currency some are profited and others greatly damaged. Further, there is not the slightest reason to expect the rate of interest to be less with a *steady* circulation of five thousand millions than with a steady circulation of one thousand millions. Of course, with a *fluctuating* currency everything is different.

The reason that laborers and farmers suffer from an inflated currency is that wages are always slow to rise and easy to fall; that retail prices, and especially the prices of foreign goods, quickly advance, while farm products advance but slowly and unevenly. Prof. Perry says: "Wheat was no higher in currency in 1873 than it was in gold in 1860; hams were not; lard was not; and salt pork was not. . . . But harnesses, boots and shoes, hats and caps, blankets, all manner of clothing, were much higher in 1873 than they were in 1860. These manufactures are what farmers have to *buy*. . . . The shrewd ones always take advantage of the ignorant ones and the dishonest ones of the honest ones. . . . But farmers always have been and always will be the greatest losers from rag money; partly for the reason that I have just given . . . and partly, also, because it takes the farmer almost a year to realize on his crops, and he can not meanwhile insure himself against the inevitable changes in the currency."

The second thing to be considered in the existing situation and in connection with the proposed passage of a bill for the unlimited free coinage of silver at the assumed value of $1·2929, instead of the present market value of 93 cents per ounce, is this: In the first twenty years following 1849 the proportion of silver to gold in the production of the mines was about one to two in value. In the time which has since elapsed the proportion has been pretty nearly reversed, and the increased ratio of the silver production, combined with the change of standard upon the part of Germany, and perhaps some other causes, have greatly reduced the market value of silver. Since 1873 the value of silver has fallen 37 cents per ounce. During the previous forty

I suppose no wise man would contend that changes in price and changes of volume have been constant companions. But I think that he who fails to see that there has been an important relation between these two things misreads history.

years the extreme fluctuations in value had been within 5¾ cents per ounce. That we are on the brink of testing to our sorrow the truth of Gresham's law can not be gainsaid.

It is quite true that the purchase of silver by the United States Government has proceeded very much farther without apparent disaster of a serious character than any economist supposed in advance that it could be carried. But, as the distinguished president of a leading university said to me the other day, quoting the characteristically irreverent modern form of an old saying: "The mills of the gods grind slowly, but they get there just the same." Last winter, week after week, we saw gold leaving the country by the hundreds of thousands and the millions, and though a most extraordinary harvest has for a time caused the current to set the other way, and in part to fill up the void created, there is a constant danger impending of a renewal of the movement. Moreover, to me as a banker it seems perfectly plain that already for more than a year past the business of the country has been suffering, and suffering severely, from the overcoinage or overpurchase of silver.

I am loaning considerable sums of money upon real estate; but how do I loan them? I am doing what every careful banker must do. The loans are to be returned during a period of eight or ten years. The uncertainty of what may occur within that period is too great to be risked; I am therefore making these loans upon the express stipulation that they are to be returned in gold coin of the present standard of weight and fineness. Now, without some condition of this kind, little business can be done which in its nature involves considerations of time. Confidence is shaken; business enterprises are halting; capitalists hesitate to make time loans, and the market is flooded with funds loanable on demand, while prices are fluctuating violently and speculation, especially in real estate, is rampant.

In my judgment, an "elastic" currency is a serious evil, although at times it may be a seeming good, for the reason that its elasticity is only sufficiently great to make it an aid in stimulating and supporting speculation in periods of great extension of credit, while not great enough to relieve the strain in periods of collapse. Moreover, the elasticity of the credit system, which is inevitable, makes the elasticity of any currency the merest child's play. And the changing of the extent and character of the currency by political majorities —by majorities for the most part absolutely ignorant of the

principles of economics and of the teachings of history, and swept momentarily hither and thither by supposed personal interest—is an immeasurable evil. In my judgment, the business of the nation would be much healthier and more steadily prosperous should all bank notes be finally retired, excepting possibly restricted issues for isolated localities, should the further purchase of silver be prohibited, and a considerable part of that now held in the Treasury (the accumulation of which has already established a danger of the first magnitude) be sold, if and as it can be sold, and consumed in the arts; and should the legal-tender currency be limited within its present amount or even narrower bounds by constitutional provision, except as representing coin actually on deposit, dollar for dollar. What is now seriously proposed in Congress is for the United States Government—that is, for ourselves—to take all the silver in the world that may be offered at $1.2929 per ounce, notwithstanding the market price is but 93 cents; that is, to offer to pay 39 per cent more than it is worth for the world's stock of silver, for that would be the result so long as we possessed gold or could pay gold values. So far as I am aware, this is the only instance in history where a nation has said, or proposes to say: "Here is a commodity which is to be had in enormous quantities at a certain price; come, let us pay for it a vastly higher price, amounting in the aggregate to one, two, three hundred millions of dollars."

Should this be done, there are three alternative results conceivable: 1st, that the market price of silver throughout the world should not rise; 2d, that the price should rise to $1.2929; and 3d, that, owing to the fact on the one side that there would be a customer in the market for all the silver extant or producible at an upset price, and on the other to the counter fact that there would be a large number of competing sellers, all anxious to obtain the profit, and all perfectly certain that—the production of silver remaining as at present and the production of gold not greatly increasing—no power upon earth could raise the price to $1.2929 and keep it there, the price would constantly fluctuate with the course of speculation, but below the higher figure. That the last-named result would inevitably follow, I think there is no room for any doubt on the part of any sane man. And two further results are just as inevitable: First, that all prices would become irregular and all business speculative and uncertain, and, second, that the currency would be depreciated

to at least the extent of the difference between the market price of silver and $1.2929, and all persons to whom debts are owing would be deliberately swindled out of that portion of their claims—swindled, that is to say, not by their individual debtors, but by those carrying through the undertaking for that avowed object. This is a beautiful scheme for a civilized people—for those claiming to be "in the foremost files of time."

Some nights ago, after several hours of close application in the preparation of this essay, I was, as not infrequently happens on such occasions, vainly endeavoring to compose myself to rest. I suddenly found myself climbing an Alpine height along the sharp edge of a cliff, guided by a peasant woman who was some distance above me. I stumbled and fell, and meantime my guide continued the ascent and disappeared. When I recovered my footing, I saw her approaching me and making some explanation regarding the impracticability of the way. As she did so, she made an incautious step, and, her foot slipping, she shot over the edge of the precipice, and as I leaned forward my eye followed her down — down — down — down, until noiselessly she stopped, a shapeless blot on the rock a thousand feet below. I woke, shuddering with inexpressible horror and seeming to hear ringing in my ears my own shrill agonized cry, and like a flash I realized before me the gulf upon the edge of which we are now standing.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISCUSSION.

MR. STARR HOYT NICHOLS:

It would be difficult to find fault with the sound and logical lecture we have listened to this evening. The speaker's conclusions are justified in the minds of most thinking men. In discussing this subject, we must first have a clear idea of what money is. General Walker's definition is defective in that it does not take into account the large amount of private money there is in the world. By private money I mean checks, drafts, etc., which are used to settle obligations between those who are known to each other as reliable. Inasmuch as 95 per cent of all money is private, a definition which does not include this is not sufficient, and we must get another. All money is a form of credit, and there are two kinds—public money, which is currency, and private money, which is not. Money in itself is a tool—a form of credit for incomplete transactions. Money represents service. We desire to have it because by its use we can secure the services of others. At present, 95 per cent of all our transactions are made with private money, and for this reason a small amount of gold bearing the Government stamp answers for an enormous amount of business. Private money is always here, and the proportion of it may increase to 96 or 98 per cent, and this would be of no consequence. It is not necessary or desirable to call upon the Government to give us more money, for it can only add its little 5 per cent. Better were it to add to the 95 per cent—to increase the amount of private money. The tendency is not to increase the amount of public credit, but of private credit. The movement in Congress to increase the circulating medium is wrong in principle. What we really need is no public money at all, but all private money. Then the currency would be perfect, and the question would be taken out of politics. Nothing ever goes current but service. If the Government issues money and gives it out for nothing, it is not money; it has no real value; it is simply a "give-away."

How came gold to be taken as the final standard? Gold has value, and has it for the same reason that wheat and other commodities have values; because it represents the amount of work it takes to produce it. Silver falls because it can be produced more cheaply. Service is at the bottom of all value. Gold is a better standard than silver because the cost of production remains more nearly stable. Paper has no value except as the Government says there is behind it so much

human service. Our silver certificates do not represent as much human service as our gold certificates. For the effect of our present policy we have only to look at what went on in Paris with the copper syndicate. The syndicate agreed to take all the copper at a little above the market price. Immediately all the small mines that couldn't be made to pay at the market price went to work. There was a flood, and then a break. It makes no difference whether it is the Government or a syndicate, copper or silver. As the value of silver falls, more is produced, because the profit is greater; it pours in, and the Government will break in time just as the syndicate did.

I am not surprised that the movement for free coinage is so strong in the South. A Southern friend said to me: "We are opposed, tooth and nail, to the false financiering of Mr. Sherman." The people there have no knowledge of finance; they are backward in all that makes for civilization. It takes a vast experience in large operations to get a knowledge of the subject, and we can not expect a farmer to understand finance any more than he does the sailing of a ship. Every silver certificate should bear on it not "This is one dollar," but "This is good for a dollar's worth of silver"—whatever the price may be. The tendency is more and more toward private money. When clearing-house certificates were issued, this was an addition to our private money. A panic was thus prevented, no one was injured, and the Government was not called upon to interfere.

DR. ROBERT G. ECCLES:

In regard to public and private money there is no difference between us. As to paper money, I occupy the ground of Prof. Jevons, which has not been represented here to-night. The great danger is in allowing the inflationist to hold a truth which we deny. The inflationists are right in regard to paper money. The Government can support a large amount without a cent behind it. The danger is in having that money in such shape that it may become too excessive or too short for the demands of business, so that it is like a rod of iron, not expanding and contracting as business does. This danger is avoided so long as the paper is only issued to meet the demands of commerce. Such a condition exists in the circulation of the national banks. People take out the paper when business demands it and they can afford to pay the interest; and when business does not want it, it goes back. When the nation issues money, some one has to say how much, and we are likely to have $200,000,000 issued when we only need $100,000,000.

Labor puts no value on anything, as the last speaker has asserted. It is desire, human desire, that gives value. A laborer may spend

years upon a thing that no one wants, and his labor is lost. Its product has no value. Or in five minutes he may produce or invent something that is wanted, and then it will have great value.

Paper money is in demand by those who can not use checks. Its utility will float it, just as utility floats gold and silver. It will float paper with the assurance that the amount shall not expand or contract beyond the needs of business. The way to secure this is to have a fund to redeem the surplus. It is not necessary to have dollar for dollar, because we can not retire all the paper, and there is no use in having idle gold and silver lying behind it. As regards the depreciation of Government money, the greenbacker would say that during the war there were other issues of paper money as well as the greenbacks. The Government dishonored greenbacks by refusing to take them for duties. There was a certain amount of Government money that was full legal tender, and that money kept up to par, and even went above par, because it was more convenient, on account of weight, than coin. Mr. Potts should have recognized this.

COLONEL J. HOWARD COWPERTHWAIT:

I have been much interested in the history and explanation of money to which we have listened, but the real problem which confronts the country has not been stated. The problem is not how to avoid free coinage, but how to get rid of the present law. We can easily believe that a free-coinage bill will not be passed, and there is little doubt that the President would veto it if it should pass. But to get rid of the present law we must have majorities in both Houses, and the President's signature in addition. To avoid financial disaster we must get rid of the present law.

Let me correct what appear to me to be one or two errors which have crept into this discussion. The speaker said that changes in prices necessarily go with changes in the volume of money. In the last twenty years the volume of money has increased about 90 per cent, or $20 per capita; but prices have fallen on an average of one third. Not only so, but prices have fluctuated widely while the volume of currency has been steadily increasing. Just after the war the volume of money was nearly stationary, but prices fluctuated greatly.

The West and South demand more money. They say: "Our produce sells for six hundred millions a year, while it used to bring only half this, and something ought to be done to make money more plentiful, so that we can get more." Under these circumstances, how are you going to effect a repeal of the present law? There are four hundred millions of silver dollars in the Treasury, and against that nearly as large an amount of silver certificates and Treasury notes have been is-

sued. The former represent silver dollars, the Treasury notes represent coin, and it is optional with the Secretary of the Treasury whether they shall be paid in gold or silver. It is not true that back of every dollar note there is a dollar in silver.

I do not think that free coinage means flooding the country with silver. We do not buy silver with gold, but exchange silver dollars for silver bullion. The coins issued for the silver are worth no more than the bullion in the markets of the world. The silver dollar would fall to the bullion value when gold is at a premium. So no one would bring silver from other countries, because the coin would be worth no more than the bullion. But those who argue in this way do not want the Government to remain on a gold basis. They are hard up, and something must be done for their relief. It is well enough for the New York banker to note that money is plentiful in New York; but in the South and West money is scarcer than ever before. Cotton is at the lowest price it ever touched. When you tell a planter that money is plenty, he replies: "That may be, but you in New York have got it all." The Southerner says: "If you will devise some way for us to obtain money, we do not care for free coinage." A bill has lately been proposed by Congressman Harter which may possibly satisfy the West and South, and induce them to consent to repeal. The proposition is to repeal the law that prohibits (by a tax of 10 per cent) the State banks from issuing money. This would permit banks in far-away places to issue money for use in the neighborhood, or let the men in those neighborhoods that want money issue it under such restrictions as seem best. The money thus issued would have only a local par value, and would thus remain in the vicinity, where it is wanted. This may not seem a very good thing to do, but under the circumstances it is the best. We must do something to get rid of the present law; no law that can be passed would be as bad as the present law.

Mr. Potts, in reply: If it pleases Mr. Nichols to call a certain variety of credit—checks, drafts, etc.—private money, I have no objections. It makes no change in the situation. I am glad Dr. Eccles so conclusively answered Mr. Nichols as to the value of gold. It is not labor that gives value. I can hardly understand how he had the hardihood to make such a statement. Mr. Nichols suggests issuing paper calling for a dollar's worth of silver instead of for a silver dollar; that is, for the Government to take in storage a commodity for which it issues certificates to deliver on demand at market rate, and run the risk of being bankrupted by having all the silver called for when the price is low, and having certificates left over.

Dr. Eccles says the gold notes issued during the war kept at par.

But those notes couldn't go out of the country, being in demand for paying duties; and couldn't depreciate in value, because only a very limited number were issued.

Colonel Cowperthwait tried to show that changes in prices do not follow changes in the volume of currency. That prices do not accurately and quickly follow is true; but in the long run they do, as all history shows. And history also shows that these changes in prices are irregular and do not affect all commodities alike, and that makes the trouble. If they were regular and affected all alike, no harm would be done.

It is undoubtedly the case that money is scarce in the West and South, and I doubt if we can make it otherwise under present circumstances, unless we can make money that will not pass as easily outside the locality in which it is issued. If it will pass in New York, it will drift this way. We don't look at our bank notes to see where they come from, and they will not stay in the West and South. We need some style of paper money, issued by local banks, that will be known and will pass there and not elsewhere.

I think if Colonel Cowperthwait will read the law regarding the purchase of silver he will find that the silver certificate calls for a silver dollar, and the silver dollar calls for a gold dollar. We do agree to pay the value of the gold dollar for the silver bullion.

THE IMMIGRATION PROBLEM

BY

Z. SIDNEY SAMPSON

AUTHOR OF PRIMITIVE MAN, THE EVOLUTION OF MUSIC, ETC.

COLLATERAL READINGS SUGGESTED:

Richmond Mayo-Smith's Emigration and Immigration; Bromwell's History of Immigration into the United States; Dilke's Problems of the Greater Britain; Seward's Chinese Immigration in its Social and Economical Aspects; Williams's *Chinese Immigration*, in Journal of American Social Science Association, 1879; Rounds's *Immigration and Crime*, in Journal of Social Science, 1889; White's *Invasion of Pauper Foreigners*, in Nineteenth Century, March, 1888; Schuyler's *Italian Immigration*, in Political Science Quarterly, September, 1889; Mayo-Smith's *Theory of Immigration*, in Quarterly Journal of Economics, January, 1891; Walker's *Immigration*, in Forum, August, 1891.

THE IMMIGRATION PROBLEM.

By Z. Sidney Sampson.

The immigration problem becomes increasingly complex from year to year. Especially during the last two decades its various phases have been forced upon the serious attention of the country by reason of the essentially undesirable character of a large percentage of those who seek not only the advantages of improved industrial conditions, but admission to the highest privileges which any government can bestow—those of citizenship and suffrage. It has become a pressing and anxious question whether American institutions, with all their flexibility and their facility of application to new social conditions, will continue to endure the strain put upon them by the rapid and ceaseless introduction of foreign elements, unused, and wholly unused in great measure, to a system of government radically differing from those under which they have been educated. Can these diverse elements be brought to work in harmony with the American idea? The centuries of subjection to absolutism, or even despotism, to which the ancestors of many of the immigrant classes have been accustomed, has formed a type of political character which can not, except after long training, be brought into an understanding of and a sympathy with republican principles.

An examination of all the objections which have been made to unrestricted immigration will disclose that this is by far the most important aspect of the question, and much more so than questions of industrial competition. If the republic will not ultimately endure harm, industrial questions will slowly but surely right themselves; if otherwise, none even of the wisest can foresee the outcome.

Mere ignorance of our institutions is not, therefore, the most important circumstance of the case. It is a question of the possibility of absorbing into a common American nationality these diverse elements. Ignorance of our system of government may, and certainly does, in many cases, coexist with a disposition fully to accept that system and yield it a ready obedience. The question here suggested

has application mostly to the character of much of the foreign populations which we have received since the civil war. The Teutonic and Celtic peoples unite with us readily, but whether the Hungarian, Italian, and Bohemian peoples are capable of assimilation is a problem yet to be determined, upon the solution of which the future of the country largely depends.

It is not the ignorance particularly of the American governmental systems which confronts us, but the absolute and dense general ignorance of the lowest classes of European immigrants. In fact, many well-educated Americans might be at a loss, if suddenly asked, to give a clear idea of the constitution and policy of foreign governments, and, on close examination, they might even fail to give an entirely satisfactory account of the history of their own institutions, or the existing federal system, or the adjustment of political rights as between national and State jurisdictions.

Our discussion of the subject must not be obscured by incorrect views as to the position and authority of the state in relation to movements of both emigration and immigration. There prevails, among no inconsiderable number, what may be called an historical-ethical sentimentalism on this question. It claims that any attempt at state control and interference in these matters is not only unwise, but unjust; that freedom of exit or entrance into or from a nation is a personal and individual natural right, coequal with the natural rights of life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness, and superior to any state regulation. This idea, however, is born of modern times, and has evolved with the enormous expansion of facilities of international communication by railroad, telegraph, interchange of thought upon all topics between all cultured nations, and the silent growth of the cognate idea of a possible federation of all states, and, in the distant future, a universal commonwealth resting upon the brotherhood of man. But it was a right everywhere denied in mediæval times, not recognized by any modern state, and it is based upon an insufficient comprehension of the idea of the state. The state, as a corporate political unity, under whatever form it may exist—republican, monarchic, or autocratic—exists not only for immediate administrative purposes, but also in and for the obtaining for its citizens the highest attainable political, economic, and social well-being; and this it has an un-

doubted right to secure, through any such legislative and executive action as it may from time to time judge expedient. It possesses the same unquestionable right to determine who shall be admitted within its boundaries, and to the privileges of citizenship, and to the benefit and protection of its laws, as the family, the social unit, has to decide who shall be entitled to its companionship and hospitality. The state, in other words, has a right to self-protection and self-development.

Says Dr. Lieber, in Civil Liberty and Self-Government: "The right of locomotion, or of free egress and ingress, as well as free motion within the country, is another important and individual right and element of liberty. It is a precious right of every one to seek that spot on earth where he can best pursue the ends of life, physical and mental, religious, political, and cultural."

Yes, in subordination to the exigencies or well-being of the state, not otherwise. Whether native to the country or accepting the benefit of its naturalization laws, there arises the relation of implied contract between state and citizen that the latter shall not assert individual freedom to the detriment of public interest; and if the latter apprehend injury from movements either of emigration or immigration, restrictive measures are proper. This is manifestly true of emigration, which might take place to such an extent as would seriously weaken the military resources of a nation; and Germany, of all the nations from which our immigration is drawn, has had reason to apprehend danger from this source. Evasion of military duty has been an important factor in inducing German emigration. But would not the same principle hold good if the social and industrial welfare of the state were threatened or its development arrested or paralyzed by the expatriation of a large percentage of its capitalist or working classes? That the question has not arisen, probably never will arise, in this country, does not prove that the state may not in such emergency forbid such wholesale deportation, and thus revert, partially at least, to the mediæval idea of the duty of the citizen to the state.

I have called this feeling an historical sentiment. America has been regarded as the "asylum of the oppressed," "the refuge of the nations." Such it was, in its earlier history, when the pressure of odious and tyrannical governments compelled a resort to flight, though by no means to

the extent generally supposed. But this motive has not operated to any considerable extent during the present century, taking into account the entire bulk of our immigration. The motive has been quite wholly individual—the betterment of social conditions, increase of wages, larger opportunity for work. If this motive were allowed to operate of itself, and if immigration were not stimulated by factitious means, we should not have so much reason to complain. The well-known fact is, however, that steamship companies (for purposes of their own gain and without the slightest regard to the quality and character of those they bring, and through agents abroad, of whom it is reported the Inman line alone has 3,500) foment this movement to an abnormal extent, and are largely responsible for flooding this country with the most ignorant and undesirable of the masses of Europe.

We discover here, therefore, a sound political principle which rightly controls all state action upon the immediate question before us. The state may exclude dangerous, ignorant, criminal, and vicious persons from its borders. It may go farther—it may justly exclude entire classes whose presence would be fatal to its homogeneity as a nation, which would introduce elements impossible of amalgamation with its people, and thereby, possibly, subversive of its political institutions, whether such fears be well grounded or not. The state is not omniscient, and it may make blunders in legislation. In regard to any future effects of unrestricted immigration, it can act only upon probabilities, precisely as the individual judges as to future transactions in his business.

The right being granted, it does not follow that the state may deem best to exercise it; but the time may come when restriction may be put in force. With a change of conditions the policy of government may change. The history of immigration into the United States is extremely suggestive on this point. Prior to 1880 the doctrine of full and unqualified freedom of migration to America had been not only uniformly sustained here, but we had insisted that foreign governments should recognize in favor of this country the right of their own citizens to expatriate themselves—a right which for centuries had been steadily denied by them. So far was this insistence carried that, with limited restrictions in some countries, the right of expatriation has been accorded by treaty by all European nations from which the

bulk of our immigration is drawn. America has had use for hewers of wood and drawers of water. The intelligent class of native Americans, partly by force of immigration itself, which had been mostly recruited from the lower classes abroad, and partly by the law which draws the better educated into the more responsible positions, had withdrawn largely from the sphere of unskilled labor, and the immense expansion of the country westward, necessitating extensive railroad and other great constructive enterprises, the building of cities, the opening of mines, and great agricultural interests, had given scope and verge enough for all. As late as 1868 Congress declared by resolution that "any declaration, instruction, opinion, order, or decision of any officer of the United States which denies, restricts, obstructs, or questions the right of expatriation is declared inconsistent with the fundamental principles of the republic"; and in a treaty made in the same year with China it was declared that "the United States of America and the Emperor of China cordially recognize the inherent and inalienable right of man to change his home and allegiance."

Within twenty years from that date the United States turned its back squarely upon these principles. During this period the Chinese question came rapidly to the front. Chinese cheap labor, it was alleged, was undermining fatally the interests of the working classes on the Pacific coast. A labor invasion was threatened. The Chinaman worked willingly for low wages, made out to live comfortably, after his fashion, on these, and to lay up something besides. Through agitation of the question the matter was brought into Congress, after various exclusion acts of the California Legislature had been declared by the Federal courts unconstitutional. Commissioners were appointed, the subject was investigated, and the outcome of the inquiry was the act of Congress of 1888, which provided that "it shall be unlawful for any Chinese laborer who shall at any time heretofore have been, or who may now or hereafter be, a resident within the United States, and who shall have departed, or shall depart, therefrom, and shall not have returned before the passage of this act, to return to, or remain in, the United States." Prior to this, pursuant to treaty stipulations, the United States had suspended the right of the Chinese laborer to enter the country for a period of twenty years, which will probably be still further extended.

What now are we to say as to this apparently contradict-

ory action of the Government? This only, in view of the principle we have insisted upon: that it was suddenly confronted with a new problem, and was compelled, as a matter of self-preservation, or supposed necessity for self-preservation, to abandon the *doctrinaire* principle of "America for everybody," and insist upon the exclusion of an element which some of the most able of the anti-exclusionists themselves admitted to be hostile to the highest well-being of the state—an element incapable of assimilation—incapable, if coming, as they threatened to come, in great numbers, of adjusting themselves to those governmental ideas and political principles which have been here laboriously wrought out and established. It is argued that the whole business bears the ear-marks of demagogism, that it was a senseless outburst of ignorant labor agitators. I do not believe this to have been so, as a rule. It makes no difference whether it was or not, in view of what we are asking here, viz.—did unrestricted Chinese immigration threaten danger ultimately to the state? I believe it did. The state, as we have said, must act, as to possible future emergencies, upon probabilities. This apprehended danger was not chimerical. In an able paper recently contributed to the Nineteenth Century, Mr. Arnold White, discussing the baleful effects upon native English labor of the influx of German and Russian Jews into London, and the necessity of governmental interference, asserts: "Were a million Chinese, during next month, to arrive equipped with no skill, knowledge, or fitness other than mere physical fitness to engage in mechanical task work, the evil would exist in a form sufficiently acute to engage the earnest attention of Parliament and the country"—a wholly incidental affirmation of the justness of the American position.

To return: I have referred to the Chinese question as an apt illustration of the abiding right of the state to self-preservation—to self-protection—not to be confounded with the protective system, as illustrated in the tariff. The immigration question is a question of fact, not of abstract right. It is the question what is for the greatest good of the greatest number. No state can act upon any other principle. A system of legislation is not a system of philosophy or logic; and, as to that, all the philosophies and logics are at loggerheads. The particular measures of legislation must have constant reference to time and place, and are thus relative and subject to revision. Such is profess-

edly the theory of English legislation, and, when put to the stress, we have seen that in our own case our famous doctrine of absolute rights in the individual must yield to the necessity of unforeseen situations.

Before proceeding to a consideration of special objections to certain classes of immigrants, and special measures which have been adopted to obviate them, a few statistics will be instructive, which I have taken mostly from Prof. Richmond Mayo-Smith's valuable and comprehensive treatise on Emigration and Immigration.

We have no statistics of immigration prior to 1820. Various computations have been made of the then existing proportion of native and foreign-born population, but the conclusions are not material to the present state of the question. Immigration on a large scale commenced with the date of the Irish famine—1846. Since 1820 we have received more than fifteen million immigrants, distributed as follows: 3,387,000 from Ireland; 1,529,000 from England and Wales; 313,000 from Scotland; 4,359,000 from Germany; 857,000 from Norway and Sweden; 127,600 from Denmark; 357,000 from France; 160,200 from Switzerland; 321,000 from Italy —this up to 1890. Of late years the German contingent has exceeded the Irish. Over 700,000 people left Europe in the years 1887 and 1888 to locate elsewhere, the great majority belonging to the class of permanent emigrants who leave with no expectation of returning.

A close analysis shows that Austria-Hungary in 1888 contributed 82,400. From this source we receive our Slavic-Bohemian element. To within a recent period the Jewish immigration came to us largely from Poland. The edict of expulsion now in process of enforcement in Russia is bringing to us 7,500 Russian Jews per month. So hardly has this pressed upon the Hebrew charities of New York that they have been compelled to ask assistance from the public at large; and the effect of this particular class of immigration upon economic conditions is arousing a widespread and serious interest among economists and the working masses.

What is to be the outcome of this movement of the nations upon American political and industrial life is a question which confronts us with a problem never before presented in the world's history. It involves so many and varied and perplexing facts and possibilities that I doubt whether the most expert student of sociologic questions would venture a prophecy; for it is quite probable that the

movement has not yet approached its culmination, and whatever forecasts we might venture upon to-day might be vitiated by the experience and results of the next one or two decades.

The most that can be done is to study the question in the light of the past, expose the elements which have proved unfavorable, and direct governmental and individual action toward the most available remedies.

The objections which have been urged against unrestricted immigration are of four kinds: 1. The moral. 2. The economic. 3. The ethnic. 4. The political. These, of course, are closely related, and the discussion of any one raises issues common to all, but the distinctions are convenient for discussion.

What I have called the moral objection is that which is directed against the deportation to America of the vicious and criminal classes. But who, you will ask, are to decide as to viciousness? Viciousness is a moral quality, the existence of which in any particular case is impossible of determination, especially where the social standing of the individual appears to guarantee his virtue. The worst vices are not the vices of the masses. Street brawls and drunkenness and disorderly conduct do not approach in degree of intentional vice, or in danger to the social order, the wrecking of banks and trust companies, and the widespread demoralization of fierce financial competition and reckless speculation. With the criminal classes—those of the vicious classes who have been branded as criminal by the judgment of courts—the case is different. Something may be done toward their exclusion, as their guilt is a matter of record, but their detection is a matter of great difficulty. The London Times of January 31, 1889, says: "That the Prisoners' Aid Society assists convicts to emigrate everybody knows, and probably the United States receives its full quota of the persons so aided."

By act of Congress of 1882 it is provided "that all foreign convicts, except those convicted of political offenses, shall be sent back to the nations to which they belong, the expense to be borne by the owners of the vessels in which they came." With all possible exercise of care, doubtless many of the criminal classes succeed in landing, and the evil which, from this particular source, is probably not very large, can only be mitigated.

Immensely the more important question is as to the effect

upon public morals of low-class immigration. Here we are assisted by careful and exact records, so far as these are obtainable from the courts. In Massachusetts in 1885, while 27 per cent of the total population were foreign-born, 40·6 per cent of the prisoners and nearly 39 per cent of the convicts were foreign-born. Of the whole number of prisoners, 17 per cent had both parents native-born, and 60·25 per cent had both parents-foreign born. Of the convicts, 19·7 per cent had both parents native-born, and 51 per cent had both foreign-born. These statistics are not encouraging to the citizen who believes that the vitality of republican institutions rests upon individual character. Education may accomplish much, give it time to work. The lowest classes may, in the course of a generation, be materially elevated and prepared for the duties of citizenship, but this ceaseless influx of ignorance and illiteracy neutralizes the most active educational work and enterprise, because a vast proportion of immigrants come here simply and avowedly for money, utterly oblivious of educational advantages; in fact, caring for them not at all. The total number of illiterates in Massachusetts in 1885 was 122,000; of these, but 13,900 were native-born and 108,300 foreign-born. There were 18,200 of the latter who could read and write French, 6,500 German, 900 Italian, 850 Portuguese, 3,150 Swedish, none of whom could read and write English. This is certainly a deplorable state of facts. If these statistics (and doubtless the statistics of other States, at least of many others in the North, would offer the same exhibit)—if these statistics, I say, were the last statement or conclusion we had to suggest or present upon the question of the possibility of preserving an essential national unity, the case would appear hopeless; but we shall revert to this point hereafter.

The second objection is the economic. This embraces, broadly, two subjects: First, the immigration of paupers and imbeciles; Second, the effect of immigrant cheap labor upon the interests of American workmen. That there has existed for some years past a regulated and systematic effort on the part of certain European nations to deport their pauper class to America and elsewhere is now an ascertained fact. This is known generally as "assisted emigration." European communities suffering from overstocked population, from the burden of poor rates, and severe economic conditions resulting in a struggle merely for existence

among a large percentage of the working classes, have resorted to assisted emigration as a partial relief, careless of the effects of this upon the social well-being and advancement of the corresponding classes in the nation to which they are expatriated. As far back as 1849 poor-law guardians in Ireland were empowered to borrow money for this purpose. By the year 1855 one thousand Swiss emigrants out of two thousand had received aid from the Swiss Government and benevolent societies for the same object. The evil increased to such proportions that the United States were compelled to protest. The situation is so admirably summed up by Secretary Bayard in an answer to the British Minister, who had requested to know whether the United States Government would object to receiving immigrants forwarded by the Local Government Board at Dublin, provided such immigrants had friends in this country who would receive and assist them, that I quote his words: "The mere fact of poverty," says the Secretary, "has never been regarded as an objection to the immigrant, and a large part of those who have come to our shores have been persons who relied for their support solely upon the exercise of thrift and manual industry. But persons whose only escape from becoming and remaining a charge upon the community is the expected but entirely contingent voluntary help and support of friends, are not a desirable accession to our population, and their exportation hither by a foreign government, in order to get rid of the burden of their support, could scarcely be regarded as a friendly act, or in harmony with existing law."

Under the second branch of this objection we have to consider the effect upon American industries of the cheap immigrant labor of the most overworked, underfed, and wretchedly paid working classes of Europe. This question has only of late years come prominently to the front. It is the "Chinese cheap labor" question over again in another form. The gradual improvement of social conditions among the American working classes during the last half-century, the increasing self-respect of the American laborer, due to education, political independence, and improved sanitary conditions, has elevated him to a relative civilization which the nation, out of regard to its future well-being, can not afford that he should lose by an undermining of his economic value to the state through cheap-labor competition.

The one security for the state is the existence of an industrial class receiving adequate compensation for its labor, relieved, as far as possible, by a fair wage system, from the pressure of want, thus giving opportunity for the expansion of individual ability, and fostering a just desire for improved social conditions. If there has been one circumstance in American history potent to strengthen the bonds between state and citizen, it has been the feeling of gratitude evoked by the unlimited opportunities for advancement afforded by American institutions, unchecked by social caste or imperial interference. But this advantage can be hoped for only, as we have said, on the basis of the financial prosperity of wage-earners. It is certainly difficult to prognosticate the results of the present increasingly complex problem of industrial competition. The sweating system, under which the contractor takes one half the entire profits which he makes out of his contract and divides the balance among his employés, the latter working under sanitary conditions in tenement houses which are a constant menace to the public health and fertile breeders of disease and immorality, is fully established among us. In London it is an old affair and has called for the repeated interference of Parliament and the London County Council. The class subject to this system are mostly low-class Germans and German Polish Jews, who subsist stealthily upon food which in any reputable household would be consigned to the offal heap. The trades in which they work are mostly tailoring and boot and shoe making. The wages of sewing-women in London have been reduced by this unfair competition to a shilling for fourteen hours' work. A similar effect is gradually being produced here. If these incoming cheap workers manifested ambition for improved social or sanitary conditions it would be an alleviation of the evil; but they are apparently satisfied with long hours, low wages, and living in utter disregard of the ordinary decencies of life.

The question has been further complicated by the increasing tide of Italian immigration; but I do not regard the industrial system by any means so unfavorably affected thereby as by the competition in skilled labor forced upon us by the class we have just considered. In considering this phase of the matter it is interesting to note the positions into which native American labor has been gradually forced by the exigencies of new situations. During the first quar-

ter of the century, and we may say until the years of the Irish famine and consequent immense increase of arrivals, the American, at least in the North, felt no degradation in taking part in manual labor. With the advent of the Irish he was displaced as an ordinary laborer; and brought thus into competition with an ignorant Irish peasantry, who could underbid him constantly in wages, there was born a repugnance to association with him upon the same class of work and on equal terms, and he withdrew into the class of skilled laborers or utilized his superior education in manufacturing enterprises and commercial pursuits. The effects of this transformation are strongly pictured by Prof. Walker in his article on Immigration and Population, in the Forum for August, 1891: "Throughout the New England and Northern Middle States, into which the new-comers poured, the standard of material living, of general intelligence, of social decency, had been singularly high. Life, even at its hardest, had always had its luxuries—the growing child had been decently dressed, the house in order, the gate hung, and the shutters in place. Then came the foreigner, bringing not only a vastly lower standard of living, but too often an actual present incapacity even to understand the refinements of life and thought in the community. Our people had to look upon houses that were mere shells for human habitation, the gate unhung, green pools in the yard, babes and young children rolling about half naked, or worse, neglected, dirty, unkempt."

Not only is this so, but the distinctive features of New England communities have been seriously and radically altered. In Boston, in 1885, only 31 per cent of the population were of native birth—i. e., born in the United States; in Lowell, only 30 per cent; in Lawrence, 22 per cent; in Fall River, 17 per cent; and in the small city of Holyoke, but 16 per cent. Many of our factory towns and cities are really foreign so far as the nationality of their inhabitants is concerned. Many of the large manufacturing centers are politically at their mercy. The extremely liberal educational facilities and institutions of the Eastern States—of Massachusetts especially—can not cope with the increasing flood of ignorance and the low degree of mentality of the average immigrant. Especially is this true of the French Canadian element. The employment of French Canadians for factory work is comparatively a recent feature in the industrial history of the United States. They

work in the summer, returning home, many of them, in the winter. Their sole object is the accumulation of a small amount of money, with which they may purchase a small farm in their own country, and there return to settle. They possess no public spirit, care little or nothing for education, nothing for American political life or institutions. Their standard of living is low. The entire family, parents and children, work together, and the tendency of their influence in the Eastern States is still further to depreciate social conditions, and hinder the social advancement of the mass of the working classes.

What shall be said generally of this immensely complex economic question? That it must be allowed to work itself out under the operation of the natural sociologic laws of cause and effect; by adjustments between employer and employed; by gradual improvement in social conditions, aided by private philanthropy, if necessary; by education; by the raising of the standard of self-respect among newly arrived immigrants; by converging upon the solution of the question the results of the best sociologic study, and by the personal and direct influence of the better-educated. This problem can not be solved by governmental interference—it never fails to work greater confusion. Legislative action can not be adjusted to economic issues of this class, variable and fluctuating as they are, and will continue to be, were every congressman a professor of sociology.

The third objection to uncontrolled immigration is based upon ethnic grounds—that is to say, it demands the exclusion of all nationalities which are so diverse from our own people in racial characteristics that such diversity appears an insuperable barrier to racial amalgamation. The case of the Chinese we have discussed. While the opposition was professedly organized upon industrial grounds, there existed behind and beyond these a justifiable apprehension that the Mongolian could not be assimilated so far as to work in harmony with the social and political features of the country. It is difficult to say where the line shall be drawn—what nations shall be included and what excluded. The question must be answered, as far as possible, in the light of history; and from historical considerations it would seem that the Germanic, or, if you prefer, Teutonic, and Latin races possess the characteristics most readily fusible with our own nationality—generally speaking, the Indo-European stock. The problem has never yet been so sharply pre-

sented to us as in the case of the Chinese. But there is a growing apprehension that the increasing volume of Bohemian-Hungarian immigration is distinctly unfavorable to American social unity. The immigration has not yet reached such proportions as to call for action by the state, if, indeed, such action will ever be found necessary. This phase of the problem (I mean the exclusion of races other than the Chinese) is a matter upon which we can only speculate, and upon which speculations will vary widely. In this connection, however, the question of ultimate racial mixtures and racial amalgamation in this country may be considered. A mixture of races is held by many to be a source of national strength and character. Mixed races, according to this doctrine, are the strongest. Now, if this means that in these United States there may be, or should be, a complete fusion of nationalities, which shall absorb and submerge completely the peculiar features of all, resulting in one homogeneous and, in evolutionary phraseology, undifferentiated social structure, I say that such will never be the case. Large quotas of our present and future population will always refuse to blend in this manner. The colored race, which is by no means dying out, of course is excluded. The millions of Hebrews will not amalgamate with us. The statistics of marriages do not show any considerable tendency toward racial fusion. In localities where a particular nationality prevails largely, men prefer wives of their own race. Out of 10,000 Irishmen living in New York city, over 9,400 chose wives born in Ireland; 393 had native-born wives. The same fact appears among the Germans. Intermarriages among the Slavic and Italian races or of these with native Americans will be so infrequent as never to become a factor in the case. But while there will, probably, never be complete fusion, this does not preclude the establishment of complete political unity, of a nationality based upon the full and willing acceptance by all of American political institutions, which shall develop a patriotic sentiment and a strong co-operative national life. It may, in fact, be questioned whether complete absorption would be desirable. Nations progress by the interaction of varying social forces. You will find complete homogeneity only in savage tribes or among the most backward nations. Conflict of social elements, provided these can be held in reasonable political subordination, conduces to the highest social type in the long run. The test of a vigorous nation-

ality is the readiness with which all its elements, be they ever so heterogeneous in origin, will consolidate for defense of the nation in serious emergencies, such as war or threatened invasion.

If no other benefit had accrued from the recent sectional strife in this country than the demonstration how far foreign elements had been wrought into the national life, and how sensitive these had become on the question of the preservation of national unity, we could have been thankful for the lesson. It is no longer any sort of question whether Germans or Irish can be brought into harmony with what I have called the American idea. The civil war settled that. It is a question now of the Italian-Bohemian-Hungarian factor. As to the former, the question and answer have passed into history; as to the latter, we can only leave it to the future.

Fourth, let us consider the question from the political side. Does immigration threaten American political institutions? This is really the test question. While it is true that institutions are made for man, and not man for institutions, yet it is equally true that it is only under satisfactory political institutions that social, moral, and economic progress is possible. We contend that the American idea offers the best vantage ground upon which these may be evolved. So far as the preservation of republican government is concerned, I think the danger is exceedingly remote. But the claim is that the standard of political morals has been materially lowered, especially in large centers of population, and that the suffrage has been demoralized; that local partisan politics are corrupted, that the boss system is a standing menace to that free political action which the state demands of its citizens, and that this system flourishes among us by taking advantage of the ignorance and illiteracy of the immigrant class. Let the fact be acknowledged. What I mostly wonder at is that with this swarm of ignorance and illiteracy infesting our large cities we have succeeded as well as we have. It is only in the surmounting of difficulties that progress is really measured, and I consider it an extraordinary tribute to the generous wisdom and abundant vitality of American institutions that our municipal governments have succeeded as well as they have. Lapses from political virtue are lamentably frequent, but these have never yet failed to develop a powerful reaction in support of political honor, and not seldom have these reactions been

due in large measure to leaders who have been themselves of the immigrant class, or but one generation removed. The fact is that not only does the political freedom of American life afford wide opportunity for fraud and peculation, but it at the same time gives free play and still greater opportunity for the honest elements to mass their sentiments in favor of honest government, and bring them to bear at once, and with immediate and overpowering effect, unhampered by aristocracies or bureaucracies.

As to anarchistic and ultra-socialistic views, we have no great reason to apprehend any widespread serious consequences. The fact is admitted by anarchists themselves that this country is one of the most unpromising for the propagation of root and branch ideas. Every laborer who acquires a small savings-bank account is a capitalist. Possibilities of accumulating property here completely nullify anarchistic ideas. It is as easy to overturn the pyramids as a commonwealth so thoroughly broad-based upon the people's will as our own. The outbreaks in Chicago and New Orleans were wholly local, and indicate no unrest among the masses in the direction of dangerous socialism. It is the most important safeguard which American institutions possess, that the right of individual property, right to purchase, hold, and benefit therefrom, unhindered by artificial social conditions, is guaranteed to all, without reserve. Trades-unions, once regarded unfavorably as opposed to capital, are now found to be ranged directly in line with capital and forming one of its very bulwarks. The opportunity for disruption of American institutions by foreign radicals of the immigrant class is of the slightest.

In view of the complications of the immigration problem, it is natural to ask, What is the remedy? The answer is, that there is no one specific remedy which promises to cure the difficulty. There are two courses which suggest themselves—prohibition and regulation. The former it is impossible to enforce, at least as against Europeans, and we are therefore confined to the latter. Enlargement of existing laws, greater restrictions upon wholesale immigration regardless of the character of the immigrant, the full enforcement of inspection laws—these and similar measures thoroughly administered will alleviate the difficulty. But it will readily be seen that the problem must be solved as difficulties arise. That there is in existence among Americans a large and rapidly increasing body of opinion adverse

to this practically unlimited flow of immigration is undeniable, and that it will make itself felt is certain.

Yet upon a review of the entire present situation I think we may be optimists. Notwithstanding all unfavorable features, there are antagonizing elements constantly at work, not the less potent because they work silently. We may attach undue importance to statistics merely. We may not sufficiently observe the influences—in fact, the immigrant himself may not be conscious of them—which year after year tend to adjust his habits of thought and his political views and actions to his new environment. Freedom of suffrage, educational advantages, improved industrial conditions, the dignity of citizenship, equal laws, protection of property—all these nourish in him an increasing respect for the American system; and we have reason to believe that, under proper legislation, the combined influence of all of these will in the long run fully neutralize the distinctly unfavorable results of future immigration.

NOTE.—In addition to the collateral readings suggested in connection with this lecture, we mention a recent valuable article in the Forum for March, 1892, by Senator Chandler, Chairman of the Senate Committee on Immigration, on restrictions upon immigration. The radical divergence of the various opinions called forth in answer to inquiries as to how far restriction should be carried indicates the unsettled state of opinion in the country on this most important of all present national questions. For those who would examine more in detail into the question, which can here be treated in the merest outline, reference is made to the valuable bibliography at the close of Prof. Mayo-Smith's work above quoted.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISCUSSION.

CHARLES B. SPAHR, PH. D.:

It would be embarrassing to talk on this question—since I hardly know where I stand myself—if I didn't know that agnosticism is tolerated here. There was a time when I did know something about this question—or thought I did—but that was long ago. I have no doubt that when the restriction of Chinese immigration was first proposed most of us felt it to be in violation of the teachings of Christianity and the spirit of our American institutions. But I have no doubt that now four fifths of this audience believe that Chinese exclusion is right. I am for the protection of American civilization against the Asiatic. We have here a certain territory, and in it we have a high state of civilization or a low one. As in former days we had a class favoring the introduction of slavery into new States and Territories, and another opposing it, so now we have a class opposing the introduction of Chinese labor and the sweating system. When Thomas Jefferson urged the exclusion of slavery from the Northwest Territory the land-owners were not on his side. The land-owners of Indiana wanted population and cheap labor. The land-owners of the East want cheap labor, and so they favor unrestricted immigration. Because not only the land-owners and employers, but also the laboring men, make political sentiment in this country, there has been a great change in public sentiment on this question. Ten years ago Mr. Beecher disposed of this question in a single sentence. He said: "An ox eats hay; but the ox does not turn into hay; the hay turns into ox." And so it was thought we could receive, without hurt, unlimited immigration from every country on the globe. But we have found one kind of immigrant that can not be turned into ox. The Chinese ranks not as hay, but as garbage, and if the ox takes too much, the change takes place in the wrong way.

One class says we ought to allow unrestricted immigration; another that foreigners should be prevented from voting until after a residence of fifteen years. Against extreme positions like these it would be easy to open discussion. But in reply to the thoroughly sensible talk to which we have listened to-night there is nothing for me to say. I agree that the evils of foreign immigration and citizenship can be greatly exaggerated. In Fall River, statistics show that only 31 per cent. of the voters are native-born; but the Irish are so Ameri-

canized that they have adopted public measures which I doubt if this audience is quite up to. By the Irish vote every dram-shop in the city was closed up. On the temperance question the Irish of Fall River are ten years ahead of the Americans of New York and Brooklyn.

The only point on which I absolutely disagree with the speaker is in regard to the statistics of Massachusetts, showing that a greater percentage of criminals were foreign-born than of the entire population. The figures are correct but misleading. The Evening Post, in an editorial upon the disappearance of the native race, compares the number of marriages and deaths among the foreign and native born and finds an alarming excess of deaths over marriages among the native-born. But as children of foreign-born parents are counted as native Americans, and as over one half the deaths are of children under five years of age, the Post's conclusions are manifestly erroneous. So, too, the children produce practically no criminals. A more careful examination shows that of all over eighteen years of age the foreign population produces a smaller percentage of criminals than the native-born. The foreigners are not so immoral as they are painted. The most foreign town that I ever was in in America is the only town of its size that I know where there is no open house of immorality. The immorality in the foreign parts of New York city is less than in other parts.

The rapidity with which foreigners become Americanized is illustrated by the experience of a gentleman in Boston. In his philanthropic work on the east side he had gotten quite a hold on the Italian population. A small boy once asked him: "Are you a Protestant?" He said "Yes," and the boy seemed much disappointed. But presently he brightened up and said: "You are an American, ain't you?" "Yes." "So am I," with satisfaction. Children become American to that extent that they don't like to have it known that they have foreign parents. One little girl of German parentage, speaking of her teacher, said: "She's a lady—she can't speak German at all."

The Hungarians are not assimilated, I know. The importation of Hungarians into Hocking Valley was an evil. But we have the power of assimilating immigrants from most European countries. Like the speaker, I am not in favor of the more drastic measures to prevent immigration. But I believe that the steamship companies that decoy immigrants ought to have the penalty of the law before them. Any steamship company bringing over one of the prohibited class should not only take him back free, but pay back the price of passage. They are like the old slave-traders, bringing over men merely for the sake of money.

I do not quite agree with the lecturer about the unwisdom of Congress. The sociologist and scientist do have to take the background and admit that progressive thinking on social questions comes from the backwoodsmen. On the temperance question, labor question, etc., they are ahead. Congress in the long run does act upon the ideas that the hard knocks of experience have taught to the men of the country. All of these questions are really labor questions. The introduction of a low class of labor keeps production in America at a low level. It may be a temporary benefit to the land-owner to bring in slaves, but with such cheap labor there is never any inducement for the introduction of improvements in methods and machinery. The immigrants of '53 brought with them an average of three hundred dollars per family. Last year the average was seventy-five dollars. We are not getting as high a type as formerly. This question has got to be settled in the interest of civilization and of the country, so as to raise the standard of living among laborers. The position the trades-unions have taken has been good. There is a vast amount of wealth in the country, and the question is not how to make sixty billions or one hundred and twenty billions more, but how the next sixty billions can be used to improve the condition of the poor.

DR. ROBERT G. ECCLES:

This is a problem somewhat difficult for me to discuss, as I came here a foreigner myself. I have noticed that when a street-car is crowded it is the last man who enters that makes the most fuss when his toes are trodden on, and so it is with the immigrants. It is not the native Americans, but the Irish, who are most bitter against the Italians and the Chinese. In this problem we may take either of two standpoints: one is the ethical, which has been lost sight of to-night; the other that of expediency, which is based on pure selfishness. It is evident that we in America have to act upon the ground of expediency; but we ought not to lose sight of the ethical. So long as the country has room enough for the population to expand and grow, I don't believe the introduction of any man will harm it—not even if he be a Chinaman. The country would not be what it is now if it were not for Chinese immigration. The Chinese built the Pacific Railroad, and were largely instrumental in building up the Pacific slope, and now it is the Pacific slope which is fighting them. I do not advocate Chinese immigration, but from the standpoint of ethics we have no right to exclude immigrants from any nation. From the standpoint of expediency, on the other hand, we have a right to protect ourselves from every nation. Let us put an import duty on the laborer as we do on goods. If every one, without regard to his nationality, has to pay one

hundred dollars tax when he lands, we will get rid of the helpless and shiftless and allow only the worthy to come in.

Let us look at a nation, as Herbert Spencer does, as an organism—an evolved being—and we shall see that that being has a system like our own. It has a circulatory system—railroads, canals, etc.; a nervous system—telegraphs, telephones, etc.; definite depots for the production of things necessary for its support, which correspond with the vital portions of the human organism. Dangers to the nation are similar to those which threaten the health of the individual. If the thing I take in is on a much lower plane of development than my own structure, and of a type not stable—not fully alive but decaying—the danger is great. The danger to health comes not from individual bacteria, but from bacteria settling in certain localities in colonies, and there breeding and increasing. All dangerous diseases begin in such colonies and spread through the body. The analogy holds good in the nation. The danger from foreigners comes when they form a nidus, as it were—when the Chinese cluster together as they do in San Francisco and defy our Government and civilization, and send out thence a poisonous influence, just like the bacteria in our bodies. Such performances as those of the Clan-na-Gael in Chicago, and of the Irish in New York on St. Patrick's Day, are examples. We should not allow foreigners to foster foreign ideas in this country. As long as they do it we are in danger from such organizations as the Mafia in New Orleans. The concentration of foreign elements from one nation in one place and the development there of their national characteristics is dangerous. Our safety lies in letting the evil tendencies of different nations check each other. Let one evil kill another. Let the mean, selfish characteristics of the Irish clash with and kill the mean, selfish characteristics of the Germans, and so forth. Immigration free and unrestricted, save by the imposition of the tax of which I spoke, means safety and improvement of the standard of American people. "Assisted" immigrants should be sent back home.

MR. ALFRED J. WOLFE:

I am a member of the Knights of Labor, and this organization is discussing a question upon which I would like to have the views of the speaker. Some hold, with T. V. Powderly, that to restrict immigration for ten years by means of a tax would produce amelioration in the condition of the laborer, and a rise of wages. Others oppose this view. I should like to be enlightened.

DR. LEWIS G. JANES:

A word in regard to certain classes of foreign-born laborers in our own community may be of interest. The Chinese question in New York and Brooklyn is not sufficiently serious for governmental interference, though in California it may be. The Chinese here are usually good citizens. They are industrious, they charge a fair price for their work, and do good work which meets a demand. The Italians are objected to because they work for low wages; but as citizens they are not usually objectionable. They are frugal and do not come on the community for support. A gentleman in the employ of the charity organization tells me that no Italians apply to them for help, and but few colored people. The applicants are mostly Irish. I agree with the lecturer that in one or two generations nearly all who come to this country are transformed into good American citizens.

MR. SAMPSON, in closing: I am obliged to Mr. Spahr for supplementing the lecture in the matter of criminal statistics, but do not remember that I have anywhere spoken disparagingly of congressional action.

We may easily be mistaken as to the average of morality among the immigrant classes if we hold too closely to statistics. Mr. Eugene Schuyler, a resident for three years in the vicinity of Genoa, reports that in that community doors were habitually kept unlocked, that no murder had been committed in three years, and that the lower classes were everywhere law-abiding. It is true that the Italian is quick to use the stiletto, but that is a habit due to the inheritance of centuries. The vendetta, as practiced among them, is due to the same cause; it dates back to the old blood-feud theory, as not only allowed, but inculcated as a sacred family duty among our own Teutonic ancestry, and still practiced among the Sicilians, Corsicans, and Sardinians, though not at present for so good a reason.

I thought I had given much of my lecture to consideration of the ethical aspects of this question, and am quite surprised at Dr. Eccles's criticism. The entire lecture has dealt with rights as between nation and nation and the nation and the individual. Mr. Spencer's theory as to the effect upon national life of the formation of what he calls the nidus of unhealthy germs is quite true; but then the question arises, How shall we break up and distribute this nidus? Like will always seek like, and these diseased spots can be counteracted only by strengthening the social system and social order.

It is possible that a temporary exclusion of foreigners might have a favorable effect on labor; but immigration has been going on too long, and has gone too far. No power on earth can now stop it. Consider the family relations between those here and those left behind. The

nexus between this country and the old is like roots in the ground, and it is impossible to break it off. If it could be done, very likely wages would rise. But another law would step in. Would not the members of the trades-unions have to pay more for what they buy? It seems to me to be a general law that in the long run when wages are high prices are high. I do not think that the plan proposed would ultimately be for the benefit of the laborer.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE AFRIC-AMERICAN

BY

SAMUEL J. BARROWS

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COLLATERAL READINGS SUGGESTED:

Williams's History of the Colored Race in America; Brackett's The Negro in Maryland, and Notes on the Progress of the Colored People; Fortune's Black and White; Cable's The Negro Question, and The Silent South; Mayo's Third Estate at the South; Grady's *In Plain Black and White*, in Century, April, 1888; Bruce's The Plantation Negro as a Freeman; Blair's The Prosperity of the South Dependent on the Elevation of the Negro; Godkin's *The Republican Party and the Negro*, in Forum, May, 1889; Stetson's *Problem of Negro Education; Census Statistics bearing on the Increase and Illiteracy of the Colored Race; Statistics relating to Negro Labor in Southern Manufactures*, in Chattanooga Tradesman, 1891.

THE EVOLUTION OF THE AFRIC-AMERICAN.

By Rev. Samuel J. Barrows.

It is a curious coincidence in American history that about the same year the Mayflower landed at Plymouth the first slave ship sailed up the James River. The Pilgrims, when they landed, met the race problem in the shape of the Indian. The slave ship brought a new race and a new problem to our shores. White, red, black, were three race colors which early revealed themselves in our colonial history—a narrow coast ribbon of white, a little speck of black, and a broad expanse of red of varying hue, rather thinly laid on, but tinging the map from ocean to ocean. After two hundred and seventy years, when we draw again an ethnological map of the United States, the three colors are still there. But what a change in their proportions! The fringe of white has become a great sheet, spreading over the continent and represented by sixty millions of people. The little speck of black has become a broad belt, the girdle of the Gulf States, representing seven millions of people; while the red is reduced to a few pathetic patches in the far West, representing but two hundred and fifty thousand Indians, which, if distributed, would only assign nine Indians to a county throughout the United States; while on the Pacific coast a fringe of yellow is added to the original three colonial colors. Europe, Asia, and Africa share with the red man the continent the four hundredth anniversary of whose discovery we are soon to celebrate.

From the first the white collided with the Indian, as he has since collided with the Negro and the Mongolian. The collision with the Indian was the collision of civilization with savagery; with the Mongolian the collision has been industrial and social; with the Negro there was practically no collision until emancipation. Up to that time he was not an industrial, social, or a political competitor; he was a slave.

The traveler through the South is struck with the strange fact that the Indian race is known only by the tombstones it has left behind. There are swarms of Indian names,

but the towns they designate are held only by colored people and whites. The Indian is no longer a menace to our civilization. We have continually pushed him outside of it. But a great strip of dark Africa has been woven into the tissue of our republic. Can it be unraveled?

It was the white man North as well as South that invited the Negro to come. The Negro came not because he wanted to, but because he could not help it. And now after two hundred and seventy years' residence in this country, and an increase to over seven millions of people, it is idle to ask the question, Has he come to stay? The Negro has come to stay just as certainly as the Pilgrim who came at the same time. But he has not come to stay as a Negro any more than the Pilgrim came to stay as a Pilgrim. So long as the slave trade continued, fresh importations of Negroes poured into this country—the raw and undigested material of African savagery. But when that stream was shut off, and later when manumission followed, the dark race in this country was committed to the operation and modification of the great forces of social, industrial, and religious evolution which are molding and developing American civilization on this continent.

To the Brooklyn Ethical Association, which has devoted itself so earnestly and profitably to the study and diffusion of the doctrine of evolution, I need not spend a moment in justifying the doctrine itself. It is rather my task to show its application in some measure to the dark race in this country. A few papers that have been written upon the future of the Negro base their hopeless view almost entirely upon what he is and has been in Africa, removed from the pale of civilization. Heredity is of course a great factor in social and individual development; but every student of evolution knows that you can not determine the future of an animal wholly by studying him in the egg. And those who declare that the Negro can not in this country outgrow the conditions of savagery which have marked him in Africa, utterly ignore the existence and operation here of mighty forces which did not operate upon him there. They neglect one of the most potent of evolutionary factors—the power of a new environment, and the positive forces it may represent. Thus I have seen a Sioux Indian, with no particle of white blood in him, taken right from the woods, put upon a railroad and carried from his home into the midst of white civilization. The difference

in his environment between his white home and his forest home measured on the map was two thousand miles; measured in human history, it was twenty or more thousand years. That Indian has gone through the schools with white boys; taken a high rank in a New England college; repeated his success in a medical college; graduated as a full-fledged doctor, and married a white lady of some literary reputation. With such amazing rapidity can the transition be sometimes made by a single individual from the barbarism of twenty thousand years ago to a rank far in advance of the average man in the civilization of our day. So potent are the forces which environment and education may represent.

Hence I have not thought it worth while to spend much time in showing what the Negro is or has been in Africa. Such a study is valuable mainly to show what are the racial characteristics with which the new civilization has to deal. The more important question is, What do facts show it is possible to do with the African in this country? It is a short historic journey back to the barbarism of our Anglo-Saxon ancestors; if they had not been caught up and included in the spreading stream of Greek and Roman civilization we should probably have been living in rude cabins surrounded by domestic animals and drinking not from Dresden or Royal Worcester, but from rude pottery or the skulls of our enemies. The Afric-American race in this country is being merged in the same historic stream, and the question is, Will it sink or swim? I have no hesitation in saying that it will swim.

The remarkable difference which environment will produce upon a race is nowhere better illustrated than in the different fortunes of the Negro and Indian races in this country. A few tribes of Indians were absorbed by the whites and lost their racial distinction. But the majority were kept wholly outside of the pale of white civilization. They were penned in reservations and left to their language and their traditions. The Negroes, on the contrary, were not imported tribe by tribe, and no tribal lines were preserved. They were diffused through the civilization of the whites. They worked in the white man's field, lived in his home, learned his language, and copied, as far as permitted, his institutions. Without waiting for act of Congress, the imported heathen African eventually became a naturalized American. The average colored boy of the South no more thinks of Africa as his home than the son of the Pilgrim

thinks of England as his home. The term Negro is no longer an appropriate scientific term to apply to the dark race in this country. The Afric-American or the colored American is the truer designation. The Negro is a purely African product. The Afric or colored American is the Negro plus the environment and development represented by periods of ancestral residence varying from fifty to two hundred and fifty years.

What, then, has been the influence of his life in this country upon the African?

His history in this country is divisible into a period of slavery and a period of freedom. The period of slavery covers over two centuries. The period of freedom is less than thirty years.

I. His life under slavery was marked by important changes in his physical condition. The Negroes imported to this country were not all of one type. Though largely from the coast, they represented different tribes of varying intelligence brought from the interior in the slave trade. One of the effects of redistribution in this country has been to blend more or less these different tribes and to extinguish all sense of tribal heritage or division. Thus the pure-blooded Africans in this country are far more homogeneous than the Indians who are separated by ancient tribal animosities and by boundaries of custom and speech.

But there is another physical fact which the ethnologist must recognize; it is that a new race, which is neither white nor black, but which partakes of the qualities of both, has sprung into being on this continent. Two centuries ago there was a black band and a white band; now there is a shaded Afghan. It is impossible to tell where white begins and black ends. You can not draw absolutely the color line, because there is no color line left; there is simply a blending of shades. The extremes, the pure-blooded white and the pure-blooded African, may be identified; but you may place a row of men between them of varying shades who can not be said to belong to either race because they belong to both. They are not Africans or Europeans; they are Afric-Americans. This is one of the most important results of the colonization of the African in this country. The question is raised, Shall the races mix? The answer is, They *have* mixed. And the question, Shall they continue to mix? will probably be answered in the future to some degree as it has been in the past. This is one of

the most important contributions which the Southern white man has made to the problem—the contribution of his own blood. Laws were early passed against the intermarriage of whites and blacks, but how little they availed is seen in the vast population of mulattoes and octoroons through the South. Undoubtedly amalgamation would have gone on had both races been entirely free. The rigid caste lines drawn by slavery tended to prevent it, but the fact that the slave was only a piece of property, like a horse or a cow, tended to promote it. And one of the most terrible features of slavery as it now appears to us was, that under the system of slave concubinage men held their own offspring, a race of semi-white slaves, in bondage, and even sold them as merchandise.

But the forces which operated upon the Negro in slavery were not only physical; they were intellectual, social, and moral. There were forces which hindered and there were forces which helped. To note the hindrances we need only to turn to the statute books of the Southern States in slave times. It is very evident that all influences were to be withheld from the Negro which should prevent him from ever being anything but a slave. It was possible to buy his personal freedom; but his intellectual, social, and political freedom were to be forever withheld. In the case of several of the States it was a penal offense to teach slaves the elements of common learning. In Virginia the fine for teaching reading or writing to slaves, or even to free colored persons, was from $10 to $100; in Alabama from $250 to $500; in Mississippi the punishment was imprisonment for one year; in South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, and Mississippi no one could emancipate a slave except by authority of the Legislature. "In Georgia a will setting free a slave was null and void; any person attempting to execute it was fined $1,000." The discriminations against the Negro extended to the criminal code. There was one set of laws for the white and another for the black. That the Negro made little progress in education in two hundred years of slavery is easily explained—the white man did not mean that he should. He was looked upon as under a divine curse which it was only the duty of the white man to perpetuate. "He was doomed," as Judge Ruffin, of North Carolina, sorrowfully declared, "to live without knowledge and without the capacity to make anything his own, and to toil that another may reap the fruits."

Yet if there were forces which hindered there were also forces which helped. It was impossible for the white man to make the Negro an efficient slave without in some way contributing to his development. The Negro came into contact with a race of greater intelligence. He learned its language. He acquired some of its arts and industries. He was taught to work. He exchanged tribal organization for family life, the authority of a petty barbarian chieftain for that of a master who, though sometimes a white barbarian, was as often a kind and considerate patriarch. Two qualities the Negro brought with him from Africa: one was a native imitativeness which gave him remarkable facility in copying the life he entered; the other was a natural docility and affection which easily yielded to superior authority, and which clung with loyalty and devotion to the oak around which it climbed. The patriarchal element in slavery brought out this loyalty and devotion in the highest degree. The master was often looked up to as a kind father and friend by the serfs that clustered around him. With all the horrors of slavery, there are nowhere to be found more beautiful instances of devoted personal attachment than those which existed between masters and slaves. And in all history the loyalty and affection of the Negro was put to no severer test than it was in the war. As a Southern general said to me: "When we went to the war, our wives and daughters were all at their mercy on the plantations; there was nothing to prevent the slaves from annihilating them. But their loyalty deserves our everlasting gratitude."

Nor must we overlook the influence on the religious life of the Negro which was exerted during slavery. It was piety not closely combined with morality; it was strongly infused with superstition, some of it black and a good deal of it white; but it was about the only form of associated activity permitted to the Negro; it helped to restrain his hand during the war, and it laid the foundation for his remarkable religious development under freedom.

It was not from slavery as an institution, but from contact with the forms, spirit, and forces of civilization, that the Negro derived these advantages. His slavery was the price he paid for it. It was as expensive to the white man as it was to the Negro. The war which freed the slave freed the white man from the curse of the same system. Nominally, the Negro has been free for twenty-nine years.

But it was not until the war closed and both armies were disbanded, and social and industrial reconstruction began, that his freedom became operative. One fourth of a century covers his experience with freedom. What has he done with it, and what has it done for him?

In an extensive trip through the South last spring, I endeavored to obtain a body of evidence on this subject. My testimony was taken from both whites and Negroes in every station of life—rural, urban, industrial, and domestic. I visited the colored people in their homes, schools, and churches, in the thickly populated regions of the Black Belt. In two annual sessions of the Mohonk Indian Conference I have had opportunities for conference with representative men from all parts of the South, most of them educators of the colored people. My object has been to compare the condition of the colored people immediately after the war as I knew it personally, and as any one may know it who studies the record, with their present condition and prospects after twenty-five years of freedom. In an article in the Atlantic Monthly for June, 1891, I have treated one phase of that question, namely: What the Southern Negro is doing for Himself. I refer to the details there given, and also to a paper read before the Mohonk Negro Conference in June last on The Situation of the Negro, and the Negro's View of the Situation, in general support of my position. In preparing this paper, however, I have for some weeks past been engaged in collecting a fresh body of testimony concerning various aspects of this problem.

When the slave became a freed man two great evolutionary forces were free to operate upon him as they had not been before. One was industrial, the other educational. When he became free to labor for himself, to acquire and hold property, he felt the impulse and allurement of new and powerful motives. When he became free to learn all that he was capable of learning, and when the white man, too, became free to teach him all he was capable of teaching him, the colored man was brought out from the gray darkness of slavery into the intellectual sunburst of the nineteenth century. A new set of ethical motives began to operate upon him and he began to respond to them. The result has been that no race in the history of the world of which we have any knowledge has made more progress in twenty-five years.

Of these great evolutionary forces and methods, the indus-

trial one is that which as yet is the most far-reaching and effective. It lies at the very basis of the solution of the problem for the Negro and for his white brother. In my trip through the South I was surprised at the extent to which the Negro had become a land-renter and a land-owner. I regret that the Census Bureau has not as yet classified the statistics on this subject. There are sections of the South in which the flickering light of the common school has done but little for the Negro, and where he is still wrapped in intellectual darkness concerning the three R's; but there is hardly a section of the South where this industrial stimulus is not found. The colored man in the most secluded regions of the Black Belt may not be able to hold a pen; he can hold a plow. He may not be able to read a book, but he can read the face of Nature, and knows how to cultivate her smile. In a large portion of the South to be sure the Negro is still only a tenant farmer; and he gets his living under a system of monstrous exaction which is but another form of commercial slavery. But this very exaction is overreaching itself. The colored man pays such a large rental for the farm in proportion to its selling price that he is tempted to buy it, and often succeeds in doing it. Prof. J. B. Clark, of Smith College, Massachusetts, one of our ablest economists, in a paper on the Industrial Future of the Negro, says: "At the outset of this work it was evident to every observer that, however wisely funds might be used, and however large they might be, there would be a great unreached residuum of the Negro population." Is there any great natural force by which this vast residuum can be reached? Prof. Clark finds it in "land-hunger." "The census may not show," he says, "that a large numerical proportion of the colored race hold land; but it will probably show that the proportion has lately been increasing, and that under conditions relatively discouraging." He ventures the opinion that "the great Negro problem will be found to be practically solved if we put the right construction on the forthcoming volume of the census report." In Alabama I had at Tuskegee a conference with teachers and students from all parts of the State and from several other States. Two things were evident: first, the hard commercial conditions under which the colored man gets his land; and, secondly, that he was breaking through them and buying farms and rearing homes.

One of the blackest States in the Black Belt is Missis-

sippi. It is one of the three States in which the Negro population has been increasing faster than the white during the last ten years, and this notwithstanding the assumption that Mississippi is a pretty hard place for a colored man to live in. President Woodworth, of the Tougaloo University, conducted last year an extensive inquiry covering the whole State concerning the industrial and social condition of the Negroes. The result of his investigation led him to the conclusion that many in every part of the State are owning homes of their own. Five per cent for the country districts, he thinks, would not be an overestimate. The town reports indicate that not far from twenty per cent own the places which they occupy. The average size of plantations is not far from one hundred acres. He had reports from many plantations of four hundred acres and over; some of one thousand to one thousand six hundred acres. Out of twenty replies made to him by intelligent colored men, one report said that the Negroes have difficulty in obtaining land; one says that there is some difficulty; the other eighteen report essentially that the Negro has no more difficulty than the white man in getting land. One of the most important questions asked by him was: "Has the Negro, if not lazy and shiftless, a fair chance to make a living and save money?" Seventeen answers were emphatically "Yes"; only three replied "No."

Similar testimony I gathered from the conferences I held and from individual witnesses. The Negro is nowhere wanted so much as he is in the South. Nowhere are his industrial opportunities so good. All trades are now opened to him. While social lines are very sharply drawn in the South, there is great industrial freedom and affiliation. The colored man and the white man work side by side. Not a few colored men testified to me that the industrial prospects of the colored people are better in the South than in the North. It is evident to the educators of the colored people and most intelligent and influential leaders that the education which the Negro is to receive to fit him for his opportunities must be mainly industrial, and all the large schools and colleges are making attempts in this direction.

Turn now to consider the educational forces represented in the school and the college.

Before the smoke of the war had cleared away, while yet the cannon were still booming, the Northern teacher had begun to teach the African his alphabet; she had armed

him with pen and pencil. Noble and wonderful was the devotion of the women who carried this gospel to the freedmen; and rich were the fruits of their sacrifice. The question whether the colored boy or girl could learn or would learn was not long left in doubt. Indeed, men and women, some of them advanced in life, showed a surprising intellectual hunger and learned to read and to write. I recall the figure of an old colored man, a messenger in the State Department immediately after the war, who, while the weighty affairs of State were being handled in the Secretary's room, sat not far away from the entry spelling out his Bible letter by letter and word by word. He would make a frightful wreck of some Hebrew proper name, but would pick up the pieces and go on. He could not read with freedom, but he thanked heaven that he had the freedom to read. Many stories might be told of the remarkable sacrifices which individuals of the colored race are making to get an education, but more important is it to know the extent to which the race as a whole is availing itself of this privilege. The best answer is furnished in the statistics of education compiled by the United States Bureau of Education, and in an analysis of these statistics prepared by the Commissioner, Dr. W. T. Harris. "In the thirteen years for which separate statistics for the white and the black races in the South are accessible, the white children enrolled in the public schools have increased from 1,827,139 to 3,197,830, or about seventy-five per cent, while the increase of the white population as a whole has been only thirty-four per cent. The school attendance has increased more than twice as fast as the population. . . . But the education of the colored race," says Dr. Harris, "has a still better record to show. In the thirteen years the enrollment has increased from 580,017 to 1,238,622, an increase of more than one hundred and thirteen per cent; while the colored population as a whole has increased only twenty-seven per cent during the period. In other words, the school attendance of colored children over the whole South has increased more than four times as fast as the entire colored population. And this increase has been constant and steady." The Superintendent of State Education in Alabama, a former Confederate major, said to me: "The colored people are more interested in education than the whites." While the enrollment is large, the length of the school session is small, averaging only ninety-five days of the year in the South At-

lantic division of States, while in the North Atlantic the average was one hundred and fifty-seven days. The colored people are doing something to "supplement" the school fund and lengthen the school session by private contributions.

One of the interesting questions which the opening of education to the Negro presents to the ethnologist is: What is the relative capacity for education of the pure-blooded Afric-American and the mulatto or mixed race? On this subject I have written to the presidents of all the colored colleges in the country. The experience of many of them has extended over a period of twenty-five years. Several thousand colored students have passed under their observation. I can only give you the briefest digest of their replies. The testimony is not unanimous, but for the most part it points to the conclusion that the difference in intellectual capacity between mulattoes and pure-bloods is not manifest as a class. The president of Fisk University says: "I think the proportion of bright pupils among the mulattoes is greater than among pure-blooded negroes; yet some of the very best and ablest men and women that we have graduated from Fisk University were of the latter class." The president of Morgan College, Baltimore, says: "I should say that the infusion of the whites quickened and intensified the aptitudes, while nothing might be added to their capacity or strength. This would, of course, favor the mulatto in point of time in which to accomplish a given task; but leave out the element of time or give the Negro all the time and training necessary, and he will learn as thoroughly and retain as tenaciously as the mulatto." Several say that they discover no difference whatever; that when they enjoy the same advantages their success is about the same. Miss Martha Schofield, of Aiken, S. C., who has been twenty-seven years in this work, says: "Good Negro blood is far superior to the poor white and Negro mixed." The fullest answer to the question comes from Hampton, and is given in detail in its account of its twenty-two years' work: "Of fifteen colored-girl salutatorians, four were black, three dark, seven light, and one apparently white. Of the fifteen young-men valedictorians, seven were black, one dark, and seven were light. In other words, of young women, seven were dark and eight light; of young men, eight were dark and seven light; which divides the honors as nearly as possible—fifteen to the dark and fifteen to the light. After

the first decade of the school, investigation was made with a precisely similar result. That it should appear again over the whole period of seventeen years is surprising and seems significant."

This testimony could be greatly multiplied. The president of Storer College, Harper's Ferry, says: "From eighty to ninety per cent of our graduates have a marked tincture of white blood. The very dark ones who pursue the course are about up to the average." A few declare that the mulattoes are brighter. Another that the difference is only one of application, and as frequently in favor of the black as the mulatto.

It has been recently argued by a Southern writer on this question that the Negroes get most of their intellectual power from an infusion of white blood, and that there is danger of breeding back to the full-blooded type. If this be so, then it might be argued that the best thing for the South to-day would be to repeal the laws on its statute books forbidding the intermarriage of the races. But a very ample array of testimony shows that the question of race mixing is not complicated by degeneracy. The mixed-blooded stand as high in the schools as the pure-bloods. On the other hand, the fortunes of the pure-blooded do not depend upon race mixing, for the capacity of the pure-blooded appears to be as great as that of the mixed race. The question of race mixing is to be decided, therefore, on other grounds than that of the intellectual fortunes of the race. It may be, and I hope ultimately will be, left to the natural affinities of the races, not hindered by arbitrary and unnatural legislation.

Another question which I submitted to the educators of the colored people was relative to the special aptitude of the races. The general testimony seems to be that there is as much diversity of capacity among them as among the whites. They succeed well in English and in imitative studies. Some teachers report a lack in power of generalization, in the power to see things in their relative proportions. Some report better success in English than in mathematics; others report that some of the most acute mathematicians they have ever seen have been Negroes. Their capacity for English is generally conceded. Concerning this, Prof. Shaler says: "The Negro has mastered the English in a very remarkable manner and without deliberate instruction by any form of schooling, and by so doing has given better proof

of his natural capacity than by any other of his accomplishments in this, to him, very new world. There are tens of thousands of untrained blacks in this country who by their command of English phrase are entitled to rank as educated men." "I believe in general," he adds, "that our Negroes have a better sense of English than the peasant class of Great Britain."*

But I do not forget that I am addressing an ethical association. And one of the points upon which emphasis was laid in the syllabus furnished me was the ethical condition of the Negro. Upon this I have taken special pains to secure fresh and competent evidence.

Let it be remembered that the Negro started with a very rude and primitive savage code. Let it be remembered also that the code, both legal and ethical, into which he was introduced in this country was not as high as it is now. Under the system of slavery certain ethical distinctions were blurred. This was so concerning the rights of property and the relation of the sexes—directions in which the Negro is supposed to be naturally weak. Nor was temperance a virtue that was cultivated in early days either North or South as it is now. We must not forget that the white man has developed as well as the Negro, and that we are judging the colored man by new standards to-day into which freedom has ushered him.

Under the slave system the Negro owned nothing, not even himself. It was impossible that an adequate conception of the rights of property could be developed when the sense of personal ownership was lacking. A story told by my friend General E. Whittlesey will illustrate this. On his march with Sherman to the sea his horse became disabled. He got into an ambulance and rode with a colored driver. He asked him how he managed to get along as a slave—whether he had enough to eat. "Oh, yes, massa, plenty to eat." "Well, you don't mean to say that you stole and ate your master's pigs?" "Oh, no, massa, I didn't stole none. Dem pigs was massa's and I was massa's, and when I ate one of dem pigs dat pig was still massa's."

I am inclined to think that it is just as easy to justify the slave's right to that pig as the master's right to the slave. The human larceny has been given up and the larceny of the pigs is disappearing with it. On this important point I can not do better than to give you some of the testimony I

* Arena, 1891.

have gathered from the South. The president of Fisk University writes: "The higher standard of instruction in the churches and the higher ideas of the family relation are the best illustrations of the improvement made in the ethical development of the Negro."

The president of Morgan College, Baltimore, says: "There is a higher estimate of character, a growing regard for the truth, a clearer recognition of the rights of ownership, an earnest class of leaders in the ministry and among the teachers, who insist upon the recognition of pure ethics."

Another says: "I find a marked growth in integrity, the meeting of obligations. This is especially true among the laboring classes. They have certainly been impressed with the sanctity of marriage."

Rev. J. E. Jewett, of Glenwood, S. C., says: "When we consider all their antecedents, the degradation of slavery, the immoral examples which have been placed before them by the white race, and all the obstacles and disadvantages they had to struggle against, I think their moral condition is all that we could reasonably expect. They are an emotional and religious people, but the majority have not yet learned that morality and temperance are among the best parts of religion."

The principal of the Normal and Industrial School of Huntsville, Ala., says: "A more enlightened method of religious worship, increasing respect for home and its responsibilities, a more general observance of the law of contract and rules of enlightened society, are facts which illustrate the ethical development of the Negro."

President Mitchell, of Leland University, New Orleans, says: "The ethical development proceeds upon the line of his education; the facts which illustrate this are too numerous to be detailed here."

The president of the Central Tennessee College says: "The Negroes have better churches; they are more regular in their family arrangements, have better homes, observe the marriage relation better than formerly. In some places there is less stealing, fewer illegitimate children, and higher ideas of female virtue—more disgrace to be impure."

The principal of the Normal College at Pine Bluff, Ark., mentions their improved homes with separate apartments, their fine churches, and as an evidence of their growth in self-respect, says: "A good many of them, if you refer to them as 'freemen,' will inform you that they were never

slaves. Should you offer them clothes, they would inform you that they were not paupers and did not need old clothes."

President Hickman, of Clark University, Atlanta, says: "They are coming more into honest and business methods of trade. They are home-loving, and many of them keep the marriage vow holy. They are liberal and kind to the suffering."

Principal Crosby, of the Normal School, Plymouth, N. C., says: "We can not expect very great moral improvement in twenty-five years considering the poverty and ignorance and the slavish customs of the Negroes." He thinks the ethical development of the mass is slow.

The principal of the Washington Normal School, Miss Lucy E. Moten, says: "Our school statistics and reports show a steady development and growth in all the moral virtues, as politeness, truth, honesty, integrity, kindness, forbearance, helpfulness, teachableness, promptness, cheerfulness, and love. There is decided growth and earnest effort."

President Dunton, of Claflin University, S. C., one of the largest colleges for colored people in the country, says: "That the Negro is improving no one can doubt. As a proof we would mention improved home life; the education of the children; the Sunday-school; the financial conditions of the people; the realization of the fact that if they would rise they must make corresponding effort."

President Thirkield, of Gammon Theological School, Atlanta, Ga., gives this instance: "At Rust University, Holly Springs, Mississippi, the main college building was destroyed. Three hundred students had to be sent out to board in the town. During the year there was but one case of discipline for immorality."

President Russell, of the Southland College and Normal Institute, Helena, Ark., gives similar testimony: "In regard to ethics there is great deficiency, yet there is development. Our professors, who are white, say that they frequently loan two to four pencils per day, yet almost every one comes back. Nearly every day handkerchiefs and pencils are put upon the desk to await an owner. Our schoolhouse and chapel stand unlocked nearly all the time. Things are left undisturbed. Our carpenter shop with tools of value stands unlocked much of the time; nothing has been taken that I know of. The washing for all of the students is done at the college, the clothes left on the lines at night,

and scarcely ever is anything missed. I do not think it would be safe to leave cooked sweet potatoes or roasted pork lying around loose."

The testimony from Hampton as rendered by Vice-Principal Rev. H. B. Frissell is that the colored man pays his debts. "Years ago it was difficult for us to collect the bills our students owed when they went out from the school; we now have no trouble. The same thing is shown in the improved honesty of the treasurers of the Negro societies about us. Our students report a marked improvement in the matter of purity in the country districts from which they come, and a marked decrease in the number of births of light children. I have myself noted the very great diminution in crime in the country districts of Virginia. This fact is borne witness to by the sheriff, especially in the matter of thieving."

The religious development of the colored people so far as concerns their growth out of superstition has been slow, as has been the religious development of the white people in the same direction. But the development of religion as an organized institution among the colored people has been remarkable. It has been assumed that the Negro has no power of organization; but the wonderful extent to which they have organized their religious bodies, as seen in the great Methodist and Baptist denominations, is a refutation of this idea. With the growth of intelligence and the slow but sure development of an educated ministry, the colored people are gradually reaching a plane of religious development which will compare favorably, at least, with that of the white religious bodies around them.

There are thus abundant proofs that the colored people are gradually freeing themselves from their ancient barbarism and from the degradation and mental servitude in which slavery held them. Has this any bearing on their relations to their white neighbors? We have seen that it was the policy of the slave-holder to keep the Negro in ignorance. About the only Southern people now who believe in the continuance of such a policy are, with few exceptions, poor whites, who on the average are more ignorant than the Negroes themselves. The great majority of intellectual and influential Southern men are committed to the policy of Negro education. They are far from conceding the co-education of the races; there are even laws against it; but they are willing that the colored people should have some

share of the current funds, even beyond the amount which the colored people themselves contribute. The insistence on separate schools has occasioned discrimination concerning the division of the school funds; and in some communities the method of division has not been equitable. But this condition of affairs is gradually improving. The Commissioner of Education tells us "that $216,000,000 have been paid from the public taxes during the period of thirteen years for the support of schools, white and colored, and, as nearly as can be estimated, the colored people have received nearly fifteen millions of the whole. This is not quite a pro-rata share, but it approximates it. The regular increase of the amount paid for schools in the South is noticeable. In 1877 it amounted to $11,231,073, while in 1889 it had swelled to $23,226,982, or to 107 per cent more than was expended thirteen years ago." Thus the Negro is getting a fair share of his educational rights.

As to his political rights, Southern white men very freely admit that the colored American does not, is not permitted to, exercise them. There is but little intimidation practiced, but a good deal of counting out and vote buying. The staple argument by which this is defended is that the colored people are so ignorant that to permit them to rule would be fatal; that they are still a race of minors. The colored man, too, has not come to understand the relation which his vote bears to the public welfare. He will too often sell it for a glass of whisky; or he may be too indifferent to exercise it at all. In some districts of the Black Belt I discovered black men who had not voted for several years—not because they were counted out, but for the same reason that many white people do not vote in Brooklyn; they had become indifferent to it; they had discovered that the ballot did not pay their mortgage or increase their crop. A good many of the colored men with whom I talked, especially the better educated, were confident that their people will have their political rights as soon as they are sufficiently educated to exercise them. The division of the white vote and the division of the colored vote in local elections has taken place in some Southern cities with the result of bringing out the full vote on both sides. There has been a fusion of the black and white votes in the result. Thus in some districts whites and blacks have united to elect a white or black candidate. The question of political rights will be settled with the growth of the Negro and the growth of the white man.

On no subject was I at more pains to get evidence all through the South than this concerning the relations of the two races. In all the colored conferences I held, the general testimony was of the improved state of feeling. This is supplemented by important testimony I have received in the last few weeks from principals and presidents of colored colleges. I regret that there is not time to present this evidence in detail. Out of twenty-eight answers on this subject from all parts of the South, only five were doubtful concerning the improved relationship. The other twenty-three gave clear and positive testimony. Prof. Booker T. Washington, of Tuskegee, Ala., one of the ablest colored men of the South, says: "I consider that the relations between the colored and white people are growing more friendly from year to year. At present there is a large proportion of the best class of white people who are now in favor of educating the colored people. This was not so a few years ago; and the number in favor of educating the colored people is growing. It is now not infrequent that individuals are found willing to co-operate in and to contribute to the education of the people. For example, a man in Lowndes County, Ala., has recently given ten acres of land to start a school. I could give other examples to illustrate this fact." Other colored men testify to the same effect.

No Southern white man is a greater friend of the Negro than Bishop Haygood, and no one more thoroughly understands the attitude of the Southern white people. Concerning this he says: "History records no instance more remarkable than the changes that have taken place and are now going on in the minds of the Southern people."

Of almost equal unanimity is the testimony of this body of educators concerning the true solution of the whole problem. With hardly an exception, they find it in the great forces of moral, intellectual, and industrial, education. The same forces of evolution that have brought the colored man where he is are bound to take him further. They will take the white man along with him.

I have spoken to you of the evolution of the colored man; but we must not forget that another chapter could be written on the remarkable evolution of the white man. When down in the heart of Alabama I conversed with one of the leading physicians of the State. I found him to be a strong believer in the philosophy of Herbert Spencer. "We have

passed," he said, "through one stage of evolution. Slavery was wrong. We did not know it then; we do know it now. A generation hence will find us further than we are now."

One of the most potent influences in bringing about a better feeling between the races is the business and industrial relations which are established between them. On the very day on which I was in a certain Alabama town a meeting held to keep down the colored vote was defeated by the white men of the place, whose business relations with the colored people rendered such a step inexpedient.

Another important element in the solution of the problem is the fact that the Southern white man has no *personal* prejudice against the Negro. The prejudice that exists is conventional and social. The association of the two races has been intimate. I have been struck with the personal affection which Southern white men have entertained for the colored "aunties" who had nursed them under the old *régime*. At the North, though the Negro has his legal rights, he is not brought into such close relationship with the whites as in the South. No Southern white boy six years of age would ask the question which a little boy asked when he first saw some colored waiters on the Hudson River boat—"Won't the black rub off on the dishes?"

The color lines drawn at the South are arbitrary and conventional. They are rigid social lines, such as in the army separate officers and men. They are caste lines, but they are not personal lines. As a colored man in Virginia said to me: "As soon as a colored man gets land and a horse and a wagon he gets something that white people want. The white man will not allow the colored man to come in and eat breakfast with *his* family, but if the colored man has a home and a horse and wagon, or something of that kind, the white man might come in *his* house and eat breakfast with *him;* it depends upon what the man is."

During the excitement at the beginning of the war an insane man said to a friend of mine: "Do not be troubled; I have discovered a remedy for the whole matter. I have ordered 2,000 buckets of whitewash and 2,000 brushes, and I mean to whitewash the colored race and avert the war." This original prescription would have changed the Negro's skin without changing his blood, but the forces which are at work now are working from within outward; they are changing the white man and they are changing the Negro.

The main difficulties in the future are to come between

the poor and ignorant white and the ignorant Negro. The intelligent and refined men of both races will get on together. The colored people are developing more race pride; they are not asking for social equality. This is something that must be left to settle itself. It must not be forgotten that there are vast numbers whose interest in both races is about equally divided. A witty orator in the South, a mulatto, in addressing an audience, said: "You talk about the race question [then pointing to himself]; there is no conflict between us; we are both here; we get on perfectly well together." Whether amalgamation is to be the solution or not I will not affirm. But I believe the two races will eventually get on perfectly well together whether they are blended in one person or race, or separated in two. Were the intermarriage of the races permitted, there would be many happy marriages where now there are illegal relations.

The mass of facts I have gathered on this problem would fill a large volume. I have only given an outline of the conclusions to which they point. Much needs to be done for the colored American, and much needs to be done for his poor white brother. But the colored American is recognizing, what does not seem to be so evident to the poor white, that his destiny is largely in his own hands. This is the burden of the exhortation of the colored leaders to their people.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISCUSSION.

MR. T. MCCANTS STEWART, the well-known colored lawyer and member of the Board of Education, led in the discussion that followed. He said:

The Brooklyn Ethical Association is doing much good in stimulating thought and fixing attention upon vital questions affecting the best interests of the people everywhere. Important as are the subjects contained in this year's course of study, none is more important than the race problem which is before us. In preparing to open this discussion I was, unfortunately, without a copy of the paper just read by Dr. Barrows. I did not want to come here to talk entirely offhand and on general principles; hence I had to confine myself to the outlines of this subject appearing in your elaborate programme-pamphlet, which shows what the discussion is to cover; and now I quote its words: "The bequest of slavery to the American nation. Ethnological, climatic, and economic aspects of the problem. The Negro in Africa and elsewhere. What sociology says as to his suitable American habitat. His capacity for ethical and intellectual culture. His true relations to the American Republic. The question viewed from the standpoint of evolutionary sociology." Being limited for time, I can not discuss the questions at issue with satisfaction even to myself; but I shall aim in the course of a few minutes to state some views which may lead to investigation on your part, perhaps to discussion now, or at the next meeting. We start with the assumption that no one who accepts the Bible as inspired, or, as historic authority, believes that the Negro is in the world by special creation; that he is not, like the other races, a descendant of Noah. You believe, do you not, that out of one blood God created all nations to dwell upon the face of the earth? I assume that you do and consider the point *res adjudicata*. Upon another point, the ethnographic account contained in the tenth chapter of Genesis is reliable, and it is invaluable in a discussion of the negro problem. Rawlinson said of this chapter: "The Toldoth Beni Noah is undoubtedly the most authentic record we possess for the affiliation of those branches of the human race which sprang from the triple stock of the Noachidæ. We must be cautious in drawing direct ethnological inferences from the linguistic indications of a very early age. It would be far safer, at any rate, in these early times, to follow the general scheme of ethnic affiliation which is

given in the tenth chapter of Genesis." Now, if we accept Moses as a reliable ethnographist, it is clearly established that in earliest historic times, when Japhet and Shem were inactive, Cush, the eldest son of Ham, the Negro's *fons et origo*, was building cities and establishing kingdoms. At the dispersion of the races from the plains of Shinar, the sons of Ham went down into Africa and founded Ethiopia and Egypt. Were they black, real Negroes? Why, certainly. Perhaps many of you say, No; and you are not without authorities; but remember that white men, often unconsciously influenced by prejudice, wrote the Negro, with black skin and woolly hair, out of his true place in ancient history. Your scholars were both judge and jury. We were often the victims of lynch law. A Negro scholar, Dr. Martin R. Delaney, in a work published ten years ago, called The Origin of Races and Color, contended that the entire human race was originally of a dark complexion; that the word Adam signifies dark, as the word Ham signifies the same thing. Dr. Boisgilbert (Ignatius Donnelly), in his recent interesting book, Doctor Huguet, advances the same view. But even if you do not concede that the entire human race was originally of a dark complexion, it can not be successfully disputed that the Hamites were a dark people, for both of the words Ham and Ethiopia signify, etymologically, swarthy, burnt, dark. Was the ancient Negro woolly haired? Well, some say, No. I have read of a man who said, Yes; and who, in a meeting like this, argued from that fact, that the Negro is of entirely different origin from the white man, who has straight hair and not wool. A colored man opened the discussion and brushed his opponent aside with the remark: "One thing I am sure is clear, that God put the wool on the outside of the Negro's head, but on the inside of the head of the gentleman who preceded me." I read of a Southern colored preacher who said: "Yes, the Negro's hair from the beginning of creation was always woolly," and upon this statement he sought to impress upon his hearers the doctrine, that the woolly hair marked the Negro as God's chosen people, elected and preordained for his glory, and that, at the last day, the Negro race would be the only people saved. "God," said this ignorant colored preacher, "would divide de sheep, we Negroes wid de woolly hair, from de goats, which am de white man wid de straight hair, an' recebe us into eberlasting glory." But, to be again serious, Herodotus, who traveled in Africa and made personal investigations of the land and people, declares that the Ethiopians were of black complexion and woolly hair. Rawlinson says that this fact is confirmed by archæological and philological researches. I have dwelt upon these matters because they are too often overlooked in racial discussions and in dealing with the modern and present Negro problem. Knowing that Dr.

Barrows holds liberal views concerning the Negro, and anticipating from him an exhaustive treatment of the subject in its present practical bearings, and expecting that he would suggest remedies for existing evils, which thoughtful people everywhere deplore, I prepared to go back somewhat to first principles, even at the risk of being considered scholastic and as dealing with matters of no practical interest. Let us briefly inquire if the present central tropical African Negroes are the descendants of the people who led the world and were the pioneers of mankind in the various untrodden fields of art, literature, and science. I answer, Certainly they were. Prof. Owen, in his fifth edition of Homer's Odyssey, gives this note from Prof. Lewis, of the New York University, in reference to the localities to which Homer's Ethiopians should be assigned: "I have always, in commenting on the passage to which you refer, explained it to my class as denoting the black race (or Ethiopians, as they were called in Homer's time), living on the eastern and western coast of Africa—the one class inhabiting the country now called Abyssinia, and the other that part of Africa called Guinea or the Slave Coast." A writer in the Princeton Review says: "The Ethiopian race, from whom the modern Negro or African stock are undoubtedly descended, can claim as early a history, with the exception of the Jews, as any living people on the face of the earth. History, as well as the monumental discoveries, gives them a place in ancient history as far back as Egypt herself, if not further." Other authorities could be cited. What, if my contention is true, ails the central tropical African Negroes of to-day, who are so far behind the other races in civilization and from whom the colored people of America are undoubtedly descended? I will tell you. First, man has never amounted to anything in extreme heat or extreme cold. The Esquimaux and the Guinea Negro are alike the victims of an unfavorable habitat; one is subjected to too much cold and the other to too much heat and malaria. Both stunt the mind. For centuries climate has been against the Negro. Dr. Boisgilbert (Ignatius Donnelly) says that Nature, in order to protect the central tropical African Negro's brain from the sun, thickened the cranium, contracted the brain, and thus caused mental deterioration. The white Southerner will never be the equal of the white Northerner in intelligence, vigor, acumen, productiveness. Put a New Englander under the torrid sun of Florida and Louisiana, and in their swamps and under the effect of climate and the laws of heredity and evolution his children will degenerate and become inferior to his brother's descendants whose habitat is around Boston and Springfield and Providence and New Haven, or in the far West under a stimulating climate. Second, migrating from northern down into central tropical Africa, the

Negroes cut themselves off from civilization, and that in itself was enough to cause degeneracy. Experiments in natural history show that if irrational animals are excluded from contact with their kind and bred alone they will develop radical differences from the parent or original stock. I have read that there are certain districts in Leitrim, Sligo, and Mayo, in Ireland, chiefly inhabited by the descendants of the native Irish, driven by the British from Armagh and the south of Down about two centuries ago. These people, whose ancestors were well grown, able-bodied, and comely, are now reduced in stature, are bow-legged and abortively featured, and they are especially remarkable for open, projecting mouths, and prominent teeth and exposed gums, their advancing cheek bones and depressed noses bearing barbarism in their very front. In other words, within so short a period, they seemed to have acquired a prognathous type of skull, like the Australian savages. Mahew, in a book called London Labor and Poor, says that the poorest people of London, especially those that partake of a pure vagabond nature, doing nothing whatever for their living but moving from place to place, preying on the earning of the more industrious, have high cheek bones and protruding jaws like the Malayo-Polynesian races. Finally, so far as my explanation of Negro degeneracy goes, remember, that for centuries the Negroes of central tropical Africa have been the victims of the cupidity and inhumanity of the white race. Peaceful villages have been raided, robbed of their inhabitants, and destroyed. The milestones for ages have been, even as Stanley found them, the bleaching carcasses of men, women, and children murdered because they were too feeble to go along with their white brother who stole them to enslave them, to sell them for gold. Good heavens! when we think of what Africa has suffered in these Christian centuries from the slave trade and the rum traffic, we have all the explanations we need of the degeneracy of its people, and looking to climatic and other agencies seems to be hollow mockery. We blush as we note what Montgomery says:

> "Freighted with curses was the bark that bore
> The spoilers of the West to Guinea's shore;
> Heavy with groans of anguish blew the gales
> That swelled that fatal bark's returning sails;
> Loud and perpetual o'er the Atlantic's waves,
> For guilty ages rolled the tide of slaves;
> A tide that knew no fall, no turn, no rest—
> Constant as day and night from East to West,
> Still widening, deepening, swelling in its course,
> With boundless ruin and resistless force."

Foote says: "The Negro arts are respectable (and he is here referring to the Negroes now living in central tropical Africa), and would

have been more so had not disturbance and waste come with the slave trade." Five hundred years ago, when the Portuguese explorers discovered the west coast of Africa, they found the Negroes in comparative peace, comfort, and prosperity. There were well-laid-out towns, though rude and small, cultivated fields, flocks upon the hillside, and the forge and the loom broke the stillness of the forests. The Negroes were in about the same condition as were the European tribes in the early centuries. Certainly the Negroes were in better condition than were the Britons when the Romans raided their country. The Negroes, whom the Portuguese discovered and whose descendants are under discussion to-night, were fit for slaves. When the Romans found the Britons and took them home they were a drug even in the slave market because of their stupidity. At least the proud Romans said that they were too dull to learn. Cicero, in writing to Atticus, holds this language concerning the ancestors of the white Americans: "Neque ullam spem præda nisi ex mancipii, ex quibus nullos puto te litteris, aut musicis erudites exspectare." I have no patience with those who declare that slavery was intended of God to elevate the Negro. Slavery has not been a blessing; it has been a curse. It demoralized and degraded the Africans in Africa, and it robbed the American Negro of his manhood and left him poor indeed. The Negroes in the United States have profited from slavery so far as imbibing some of the elements of Caucasian civilization; but in so far as that civilization has robbed him of his manhood, it has been hurtful and it places him beneath the Negro in Africa. The African Negroes are not universally the degraded beings that we too often and generally think they are. Take the Veys, for example. They are barbarians, or heathen, or savages magis natione quam ratione. In what makes manly character, in what makes intellectual strength, the Veys rank with any people. They have invented their own alphabet, constructed their own written as well as spoken language, and they are slowly creating a literature. They use a pen and an indelible ink that they make themselves. I admire the Mandingoes of the west coast of Africa, because they are learned in the Koran and other Arabic writings; but their literature is borrowed. I go into inexpressible enthusiasm over the Veys, because they have invented a language. My impression is, that, taken as a whole, these African Negroes are superior to the average American Negroes who have been crushed by the monster slavery. But I do not think that there is any occasion for wonder or surprise at these statements. Remember that Theodore Dwight says, in an article in the Methodist Quarterly Review for 1869, that between 1770–'75 a report reached England that a young African slave in Maryland could read and write Arabic, and was well versed in Arabic literature. His

name was Job-ben-Solomon. He was released, sent to England, and there assisted Sir Hans Sloan, the able scholar and founder of the British museum, in translating several Arabic works. Now, I have endeavored to make the races of one common origin, to show that black-faced and woolly-haired people gave the world its earliest civilization, that from these people the present Negroes now dwelling in central tropical Africa have descended, and their present degeneracy is the result of climate and other causes. Many white and all colored people agree with my conclusions; and those of us who hold such views see no inherent difficulties in the Negro problem as we have it in the South land. The Negroes in the United States are not ethnologically the same as the Negroes in Africa. There is a more general admixture of blood than we commonly think; and then, too, climate and food have produced differentiations. "The man without a race" is a characterization which may be applied very generally to the Negroes in the United States, and, recognizing this difference between the Negroes of Africa and the Negroes of the United States, we have a term which one of our leading writers, Mr. T. Thomas Fortune, the editor of the New York Age, has brought into very general use and which we apply to ourselves. It is Afro-American. My references hereafter to the American Negro will be under that term. The capacity of the Afro-Americans for ethical and intellectual culture (I quote your programme) is beyond question. No race is a better subject for development on the moral side. They are not avaricious or bloodthirsty. Indeed, of all the races, they possess fewest of those traits that conflict with the Ten Commandments, which are the epitome of the highest morality possible in man. Why, only a year or two ago this record was made by Afro-Americans, excelling the brightest minds of the white race: Minton was class orator at Phillips Academy in 1891; Handy was class orator of the College of the City of New York, same year; Du Bois won the Boylston prize for scholarship at Harvard in 1890; the best man at Cornell the same year was a colored man; and a black young man, Clement G. Morgan, was in 1890 class orator at Harvard. And these are not monstrosities, exceptional cases, which signify nothing. They are typical of the progress Afro-Americans are making throughout the country. Though handicapped in many ways, we are keeping step with our brother in white wherever the conditions are favorable. It is generally conceded that Afro-Americans are progressing everywhere. Even the most prejudiced white men of the South admit the fact, though they often do so with a qualification. Indeed, some of them voluntarily proclaim it, and say this very progress on the part of the colored people makes the situation serious, creates an important problem, for these people will in time become on

general principles, our equals, and then these Southerners ask, and it is often a serious question with some Northerners, Can the two races live together harmoniously as equals? That is the practical question which you are considering now and which is down for your next meeting. It is contended by some that Afro-Americans should not remain in this country; that they were brought here by force and that it is not their natural habitat; that God created them for Africa and that they should return there and develop themselves in a climate for which God intended them. I smile at that kind of argument. Why, God never created the Negro in Africa. He was created in Adam and Noah in Asia. So if there is to be an exodus, it should be to the land of the Japs and the olive-eyed Chinese. But even if God did create the Negroes at the headwaters of the Nile, he did not create the Aryan race here in the United States, nor the Jew, nor the Chinese. If, then, Afro-Americans should return whence their ancestors were created, why should not the white people go back where they came from? But if the Negro, as you call us, is to go to Africa to get in a natural climate, what is the objection to settling us in Florida and Louisiana and other parts of the South land where the climate and physical conditions are similar to Africa? But, pshaw! this deportation of Afro-Americans is pure nonsense. Speaking through me, they tell you that they do not want to go out of this country and back to Africa, and, more, that they will not go; that they are here to stay. To remove them under the circumstances, and with this spirit on their part, is absolutely impossible. What matters it how they came here? Many of the early settlers of this republic were sent here into involuntary and often penal banishment. They did not want to come when they were sent under vagrant and debtors' laws; and when here, they were held in bondage. Eggleston, in his History of the United States and Its People, says: "During the time of their bondage they could be bought and sold like slaves." So, if you want to get at the descendants of people who were brought here against their will to send them away because they have no right here, you will have to deport many white people, especially from proud old Virginia and Georgia. It seems to me to be foolish and inexcusable to be constantly discussing makeshifts in connection with such an important matter as what you call the Negro problem. There is no Negro problem in the North. There is a Negro problem in the South, and the solution of it depends upon time, education, evolution. There is very little trouble now except, mainly, in politics, and in the enjoyment of public rights. So far as politics is concerned, there should be an educational or property qualification, or both, applicable to all races alike. As to the enjoyment of public rights on public conveyances and in public places existing under pub-

lic license or supported by public funds, the white South should act upon the principle that a colored man is as good as a white man—even if they put in, "if he behaves himself," as some of our friends at the North do. There is no remedy, there is no solution for the race problem in the South, outside of the Bible, the Declaration of Independence, and the Constitution of the United States. To these we must resort, and by the rules laid down in these we must work, and as reasonable men, considering the limitations of human nature, its imperfections and its weaknesses, we should work patiently together upon this important problem, and until we have settled and removed it. Be assured that this problem will confront us until Afro-Americans shall have been subjected to generations of intellectual and ethical evolution, and until the white race get Christianity enough to eradicate their race pride and exclusiveness, and democracy enough to practically subscribe to what Abraham Lincoln said this country is—"a land where every man has a right to be equal with every other man."

MR. T. THOMAS FORTUNE:

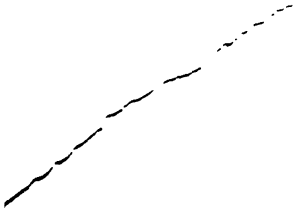
Being unexpectedly invited by the president, Mr. Fortune said: I had not the remotest idea of saying anything this evening. I think on the historical side of the question Mr. Stewart has indicated fully our position; and Dr. Barrows has placed the situation in the South before you just as it is. I am very sure the slow processes of evolution—judging by the indisputable evidences to be seen in the South, as applied to both white and black—will ultimately work out the same result as in the mingling of any two European nations on Manhattan or Long Island. I thank you for the opportunity to say these few words.

MR. BARROWS, in closing: I thank the speakers for their warm commendation of the lecture. The milder elements in the character of the Afric-American have force in the solution of this question. Take this fact for illustration: An able colored gentleman in a Southern city bought a lot of land alongside of the lot of a white man. The white man was very angry, used bad language, and wanted to buy the colored man's lot; but the colored man refused to sell. The colored man began improving his lot; then he put up a house about as good as that of his white neighbor. One day the white man strayed in to see what was going on. The colored man said he wanted to have things nice, and hoped he wouldn't be a nuisance. The white man became interested, and made suggestions about the house. After a while the question of a fence between the lots came up. The white man said: "I suppose we've got to have a fence, but let it be a low

—just enough to mark off the lots." By and by the black woman ...e white woman were talking together over the fence, as women ...One night the colored man came home and noticed some strange- ...ing bread on the table; his wife told him to guess where it came ...rom. He guessed all his colored neighbors, but was told that his white neighbor sent it. Then the colored man raised some fine tomatoes, and sent some in to the white man. His children had the usual children's ailments, and the white woman came in to make suggestions and give advice out of her larger experience. All of which shows that it is quite possible for the two races to live together. Of course there was no "social equality," oh, no!—but brown bread and tomatoes had done what the ballot and bullet could not do.

I know of another case where a white man had a stable adjoining a colored man's house. Finding the colored family to be decent and respectable, and fearing the stable would be a nuisance, he voluntarily removed it.

In Boston there was a family which received assistance from the Associated Charities—an Irish woman with a drunken husband, who lived in the basement of a house owned by a Jew. In the upper part of the house was a colored family—Shem, Ham, and Japhet all together. I heard once that the Irish woman couldn't pay her rent, and went down to see about it. The Jew had said the Irish family must go out, but the colored woman said: "No; I'll pay the rent," and she gave the Irish woman some of her washing. Then I thought of the outrages against the colored people here in New York during the war, and thanked God that the colored people are forgiving. It is this spirit of peace and good will more than that of hate and war which will give them the victory.



THE RACE PROBLEM IN THE SOUTH

BY

JOSEPH LE CONTE, LL. D.

PRESIDENT OF THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF SCIENCE
AUTHOR OF EVOLUTION AS RELATED TO RELIGIOUS THOUGHT, ETC.

COLLATERAL READINGS SUGGESTED:

Williams's History of the Colored Race in America; Brackett's The Negro in Maryland, and Notes on the Progress of the Colored People; Fortune's Black and White; Cable's The Negro Question, and The Silent South; Mayo's Third Estate at the South; Grady's *In Plain Black and White*, in Century, April, 1888; Bruce's The Plantation Negro as a Freeman; Blair's The Prosperity of the South Dependent on the Elevation of the Negro; Godkin's *The Republican Party and the Negro*, in Forum, May, 1889; Stetson's Problem of Negro Education; Census Statistics bearing on the Increase and Illiteracy of the Colored Race; *Statistics relating to Negro Labor in Southern Manufactures*, in Chattanooga Tradesman, 1891.

THE RACE PROBLEM IN THE SOUTH.

By Joseph Le Conte, LL.D.

Personal Relation to the Problem.

On a subject which has been discussed with so much passion and from such opposite points of view, it is absolutely necessary that one who undertakes to enlighten others should first vindicate his own right to be heard by showing his opportunities for knowing the facts at first hand, and also his ability to form an unbiased judgment. This is my excuse for bringing forward some points in my own personal history which might otherwise seem out of place.

I was born in 1823, on a large plantation near the coast of Georgia. Until approaching manhood I lived surrounded by at least two hundred blacks. In early life, therefore, I knew no other relation between whites and blacks than that of master and slave. My father managed his plantation himself, and exercised authority with firmness and kindness. The property, which had been inherited through several generations, grew by natural increase alone, none of the slaves, during my recollection, having been either bought or sold. Their moral and religious instruction, moreover, were carefully looked after. I have never known a laboring class more orderly, contented, and happy. I do not mean, however, to deny the great evils inherent in slavery, but of these I became aware only by wider experience at a later period.

With the exception of a few years spent in completing my medical and scientific education, I continued to live at the South until 1869, when I removed to California. I therefore saw and suffered the chaos of emancipation and reconstruction. Since removing to California I have several times returned and spent several months, each time, at the South. I have watched with interest the effect of emancipation on the Negro, and compared the results of slave labor and free labor.

So much for opportunities for knowing the facts. But such opportunities often prejudice the mind and incapacitate it for unbiased judgment. It is necessary, therefore,

to show that, in some degree at least, I have freed myself from such prejudices.

From 1844, when I came in possession by inheritance of a portion of the property described above, until 1865, when the slaves were emancipated, at any time it would have been very greatly to my advantage to have sold out and changed the form of investment. I refused to do so only because I felt personally responsible for the welfare of the Negroes. At any time during the same interval it would have been very greatly to my advantage to have moved the property westward. I refused this also only because the Negroes were attached to the old place, and some family ties would have to be broken. Nor was my own case unique. Such sacrifice of self-interest was common in the South. It is evident, therefore, that in proportion to the conscientiousness of the owner, is this form of property a dead weight to enterprise. It is not property in the absolute sense, nor was it regarded as such. The proverbial lack of enterprise of the Old South was partly the result of the large amount of property in this form, and her conscientiousness in the treatment of it. It was to her credit that she was not more enterprising.

The catastrophe of the war and the resulting emancipation of course swept clean away everything I owned as property. The land remained—true, and still remains; but, partly on account of its situation and partly for other causes to be explained hereafter, it has never made me a cent from that day to this. Yet this total loss did not cause me any distress. On the contrary, I felt an inexpressible sense of relief and almost joy. I mention these facts to show that I had not even then any strong prejudice in favor of slavery, nor was I unprepared to welcome emancipation if it had come in the right way.

But further. Perhaps no one ever wholly frees himself from the effects of early influences and prejudices; but this much I can say with confidence: From earliest manhood, partly by reason of inherited character and partly by conscious individual effort, I have set before myself as the chief end of culture the purging of the mind of every influence that might cloud the judgment, that might dim the clearness of intellectual vision—not only on this, but on all other subjects. With this end in view, while living in New York (1843–'45), completing my medical education, and in Cambridge, Mass. (1850 and 1851), completing my scientific

education, I lost no opportunity of discussing earnestly but dispassionately the subject of slavery with some of the foremost thinkers of America. It is true our subject now is not slavery; but the close connection of this question with the race problem is sufficiently evident.

The audience will pardon me the recital of these personal details. It seemed to me necessary to vindicate my right to speak at all on this subject.

Scientific Method Necessary.

Next in importance to an unbiased mind is a scientific method of treatment. There was a time when Science concerned herself only with material Nature. Questions relating to man in his higher activities, and therefore all questions of social organization, politics, ethics, etc., were regarded as hopelessly beyond her domain. The phenomena involved in these questions belonged, it was said, to a higher order, and were far too complex to be reduced to law by her methods. But meanwhile Science, laying first the foundations of rational knowledge in the simplest departments, has risen steadily higher and higher, reducing from chaos to order more and more complex subjects, until now at last she invades the very highest. Thus she passed from mathematics to mechanics, then to astronomy, then to physics, then to chemistry, reducing all to law; then, only in the present century, to biology; then, only recently, to psychology, and finally, even now, to sociology—the science of social organization and social progress, the highest of all. Again, the recent introduction of the idea of evolution by Darwin, and its extension by Spencer to every department of Nature, has revolutionized the philosophy and methods of every department of thought, especially that of sociology. It is almost needless to say, therefore, that our subject will be treated as much as possible by the scientific method, and especially in the light of the theory of evolution. The time has now come when it would seem that the further advance of civilization, and even the conservation of that which we have already achieved, is strictly conditioned on the use of more rational—i. e., of scientific—methods. This point is so fundamentally important that I stop for a moment to explain and enforce.

Art is the material embodiment of certain underlying rational principles. Science is the formal statement and

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ciples on which a solution must be based, and in all modesty to suggest some practical methods of application of these principles.

Our Bequest of Slavery.

No subject can be scientifically understood until studied in the light of its history. This is the historic method—the evolution method, so much used in modern research. It is necessary, therefore, first of all to give a brief outline of the history of this problem.

There was a time, and that not more than a century ago, when slavery was universally regarded as the normal, and indeed the necessary, result of the close contact of civilized with savage races. This view may be regarded as the natural one, as the survival of the law of force and the right of the strongest, inherited by man from the animal kingdom. It is doubtful whether in early stages of ethical evolution any other relation was possible or even desirable; since the only alternative would have been extinction of the weaker race. The relation of master and slave, then, is a natural one under the conditions given above. Now, let it be remembered that whatever is natural can not be wholly wrong; that the function of reason is not to despise or destroy or reverse Nature but to transform it into higher modes. But no more of this now; we will recur to it later. In any case, it will be admitted that the present century was not responsible for the existence of slavery at the South previous to the late war. It was a bequest from the previous century. Again, we must sharply distinguish between the introduction of slavery and its continuance after it was introduced. All will admit the iniquity, the incredible horror of the slave trade, but the possession and use of inherited slaves is consistent with, and may be even conducive to, the highest morality. We, therefore, say nothing more concerning the introduction of slavery into the United States. Americans were no more responsible than other civilized peoples. The South especially was, if possible, less responsible than others, for the slaves were brought not in her ships, but in those of other countries or other parts of our own country. Before the war, and the resulting emancipation, the question with the South was not as to the right or wrong of the introduction of slavery. That was a dead issue of a dead generation. "Let the dead bury their dead." The Negroes were already there; what relation must they sustain to the whites?

So, also, since the war, and consequent emancipation, the question now is not whether emancipation was right or wrong, nor, if right, whether it came in the best way. That also is a dead issue. The question now is, Being emancipated, what is best to be done with the Negro? I have called these questions dead, but they are not dead in the sense of being without living progeny. The living, in this as in all cases, has been evolved out of the dead, and must be studied in connection with the dead. This is the historic or evolution method spoken of above.

It is necessary, also, to trace briefly the history of the change of sentiment on the subject of slavery.

Immediately after the War of the Revolution all the States, unless we except Massachusetts, tolerated slavery. If slaves were more numerous in the South, it was only because the climate was more congenial and their labor more profitable there. For the same reasons there was a continual transfer of slaves from the North toward the South; so that the disparity became greater with time. As the blacks became fewer in number, and their labor less profitable, emancipation laws were enacted in the Northern States successively. It is doubtful if the same result would have followed, at least so soon, if slaves had been more numerous and more profitable. Thus, the difference between the two sections in regard to the presence or absence of slavery was due wholly to physical causes, and not to any difference in the moral character of the people.

Now, the same was true in regard to the difference of sentiment on the subject of slavery which gradually developed in later times. It was purely the result of circumstances. Immediately after the War of Independence there was no difference of sentiment on the subject of slavery in different sections of the country. In fact, the sense of the evils of slavery, and the hope of abolishing it, seem at that time to have been stronger in Virginia and South Carolina, and other Southern States, than in the North.* But here, again, commencing from a common ground, there was a gradually increasing divergence. The same was true of many other questions closely connected with one another,

* Washington, Jefferson, and Madison expressed hopes of the abrogation of slavery.

Virginia, Kentucky, and Tennessee were taking steps looking toward gradual emancipation when checked by the abolition agitation.

In the first draft of the Declaration of Independence, Jefferson introduced a clause reprobating the slave trade. This was withdrawn on account of objections from some of the colonies.—Lunt, Causes of the War of '61, pp. 10–30.

and all undoubtedly contributing to the catastrophe of the war of '61. For example: Starting from a common ground, there was an increasing divergence of views on the subject of the tariff, the natural result of diversity of industries. Similarly there was an increasing divergence of views in regard to the relative claims of national and State sovereignty, the natural result of the increasing population of the Northern States, and the desire to use the national power in their own behalf. Similarly, an increasing divergence of views as to the strict or literal construction of the National Constitution, the South being ever on the defensive, and therefore strict constructionists. The same was true, and even more true, of the question of slavery. At first slavery was tolerated everywhere. Then, wherever the question could be viewed abstractly and disinterestedly, slavery was regarded as a social evil and a social danger, but no longer avoidable. We must make the best of it. Then the sentiment of the world against it became ever stronger, and it was regarded as not only a social but a moral evil—what at all hazards ought to be removed. Then it became a mortal sin, then a crime, then the sum of all crimes! Then, of course, there commenced a holy crusade against it.

In the mean time a contrary movement of sentiment was going on at the South. As slave labor became more and more profitable, chiefly by the increasing culture of cotton and rice, which, more than any other products, require the control of labor; as the number of slaves became greater and greater, partly by congeniality of climate, partly by migration from the North, but chiefly by the better care of the slaves and their increased reproduction—the emancipation of the slaves became more and more difficult, partly on account of the enormous amount of property in this form, but especially on account of the extremely grave social question involved. Now, as emancipation seemed more and more impossible, slavery more and more fixed, the South, as was natural, set herself to finding some rational grounds for the defense of slavery, and many even persuaded themselves that, instead of a curse, it was a blessing, and even the sum of all blessings.

But, in spite of these attempts to defend and even to apotheosize slavery, in the minds of thinking men there was an uneasy and even painful sense of isolation from the rest of the civilized world and a consequent stagnation of the current of progress. It was easily perceived that in

many ways slavery was a blight on the prosperity of the South. Thirty years before the war the South was fully abreast of the foremost of the Northern States in enterprise, both commercial and manufacturing, in literature and in art, and, in fact, in all that constitutes a vigorous progressive civilization. But these thirty years were years of complete revolution in the world's sentiment on the subject of slavery. They were also years of prodigious advance everywhere except in the South. She stood still while the rest of the world rushed on. That the cause of this was slavery there could be no doubt. No people can with impunity cut itself off from sympathy with the rest of the civilized world. It must be left behind in the race. Civilization is no longer national, nor even racial. It must be human.

Such was the condition of things in 1861. Such is a brief history of the growth of the "irrepressible conflict" between the North and the South. I will not stop to discuss the causes of the war. Others can do this better than I; and, besides, that is not the subject now in hand. Certain it is, however, that it was the natural result of increasing divergence of interests and sentiment on many subjects already mentioned, until finally parties became essentially sectional. Undoubtedly, however, by far the most fundamental of these, and perhaps the determining cause of all the other divergences, was the question of slavery. But still more fundamental than this—than all these—in fact, the underlying cause of all revolutions—is the irrational, unscientific, empirical methods of politics, already described. If revolutions are to be prevented in future, it must be by the use of more rational methods, by understanding the laws of sociology, and the wise application of these laws in politics.

Of Slaves as Property.

I have already spoken of the overwhelming loss of property suffered by the South as the result of the war and consequent emancipation. This leads me to say something on the economic question of slaves as property. Let it be understood, however, that what I say on this subject is the result of my own thoughts only, and carries no authority with it except its reasonableness. I do not profess to be a political economist. It may be that the views I am about to express are those of political economists generally, but I am sure they are not usually held by intelligent people.

When the war was ended and emancipation accepted, everybody regarded the situation at the South as that of so many thousand million dollars' worth of property completely annihilated, gone out of existence like that which takes place in the burning of a house. Now this, I am convinced, is not true. I well remember at that time astounding some of my friends by asserting that, under favorable conditions and a due relation between the amount of land and slaves, there would be no loss at all, but only a change of form of labor. I illustrated this then, and I would illustrate it now, as follows: Suppose I own a certain amount of land, and slaves enough to work it; obviously the value of the whole property would be determined by the resulting average income. But it will be admitted, and subsequent events have proved, that the same land worked faithfully by free hired labor would make fully as much income. Evidently, then, the value of the property would be unchanged; the value of the land alone after emancipation would be equal to the value of land and slaves before. In other words, the whole value of the slaves would be transferred bodily over to the land. I repeat, then, that if after emancipation the Negroes had continued to work faithfully for wages, the products of the land would have been undiminished, and therefore there would have been no perceptible loss of property at all. The great loss of property and the awful prostration of the South was wholly the result of the complete disorganization of the labor system. An old system had been destroyed, the new had not yet been established. The whole trouble was the unfortunate suddenness of the change and the time necessary for readjustment. It is impossible on any other view to account for the rapid recuperation of the South. In many places, it is true, the recuperation was slow; in some places the recuperation has not taken place at all; but this is only because the reorganization of labor has been slower or has not taken place at all. This is the case, for example, on the coast of Georgia already mentioned, and in many other places. The number of blacks in these places is too great to feel the influence of the whites. The community is essentially African, and therefore with little or no ambition to improve. Living is easy with even a minimum of labor. The Negroes are unwilling to work for wages. The whites in despair have mostly moved away and abandoned the cultivation of their lands. On this view it is easy to account for individual cases of utter loss—of re-

duction from affluence to abject poverty. But such cases are exceptions.

It is evident, then, that slaves are not property at all in the sense that other things are property. They are not, and never were, regarded at the South as mere chattels, though doubtless too much so in many cases. Slavery is only the right, or at least the power, to control labor. Wherever capital controls labor there is slavery. If slave labor in any case is more profitable than free labor, it is only because it is more controllable.

Ethnological Aspects of the Problem.

Under this general head come several questions of fundamental importance. Among these I discuss, first—

(*a*) *The Laws of the Effects of Race Contact.*

The laws determining the effects of contact of species, races, varieties, etc., among animals may be summed up under the formula, "The struggle for life and the survival of the fittest." It is vain to deny that the same law is applicable to the races of man also. All the factors of organic evolution are carried forward into human evolution, only they are modified by an additional and higher factor, Reason, in proportion to the dominance of that factor—i. e., in proportion to civilization. In organic evolution the contact of two diverse forms determines either the extinction of the weaker or else its relegation to a subordinate place in the economy of Nature; the weaker is either destroyed or seeks safety by avoiding competition. In human evolution the same law must hold, with a difference to be determined by reason. At the outset of this discussion, therefore, it is necessary to lay down a fundamental proposition which must underlie all our reasonings on this subject: Given two races widely diverse in intellectual and moral elevation, and especially in capacity for self-government—i. e., in grade of race evolution; place them together in equal numbers and under such conditions that they can not get away from one another, and leave them to work out for themselves as best they can the problem of social organization, and the inevitable result will be, must be, ought to be, that the higher race will assume control and determine the policy of the community. Not only is this result inevitable, but

it is the best result for both races, especially for the lower race.

To illustrate: Suppose there be cast on a desert island 100 grown-up people and 100 children of, say, ten years old, but having no blood relationship the one set with the other, and a community be there organized. Is it not inevitable—is it not best for all parties, but especially for the children—that the grown-up people should assume entire control and determine the policy of the community, while the children should be subordinated to their authority? Is not this just, is it not right? Talk about violation of the rights of the weaker! The sacredest of all rights, because the right most apt to be violated, is the right of the weak and the ignorant to the control and guidance of the strong and the wise. Would not even compulsory service in proportion to ability and in return for protection and guidance be better than neglect and consequent extermination?

Or suppose 1,000 Anglo-Saxons and the same number of Australian blacks be put together in the same place and surrounded by an unscalable wall so that they could not run away from the experiment. Is it not evident that the founding of a civilized community is strictly conditioned on the complete supremacy of the white race? The disparity between the two classes in this case is fully as great as in the last, but the problem would be far more difficult, because of the physical strength and animal ferocity of the Australian as compared with the physical weakness, and especially the docility, of the children. But in some way—peaceable if possible, forcible if necessary—the higher race must control and determine the policy of the community. Here again even compulsory service, if necessary, in proportion to ability and in return for protection and guidance, is best for both races, but especially for the lower race; for the only alternative for them is extermination. You may call it slavery if you like. If so, then slavery under certain conditions is right. But the relation, if kindly and wisely administered, is not slavery in any philosophic sense.

We have said above that the inevitable result of such contact is either subordination of some kind or degree, or else extermination. Which it will be, depends on the character of the two races, especially the lower. If it be in the early stages of race-evolution, and therefore plastic, docile, imitative, some form of subordination will be the result; if, on the other hand, it be highly specialized and rigid,

extermination is unavoidable. The Negro is probably the best type of the former and the American Indian of the latter.

Now, the condition of things at the South to-day, though certainly not identical, is similar to that described above. Here we have two races widely different in grade of evolution, in nearly equal numbers in the same place. The difference in grade may not be as great as that described above; but, if not, we owe it to the previous condition of subordination to the white race. The result, therefore, must be similar, though certainly not identical with the cases described above. As a broad general fact, control of some kind or degree must be in the hands of the superior race. I do not say that the best form of such control is slavery. If it ever were the best form (as it probably once was), it is not so now. The Negro under slavery, and by means of slavery (for in no other way was close and peaceable contact of the two races possible), has been developed above slavery. Slavery was probably at one time the only natural or even possible relation between the two races, and was therefore right. The evils were not in the institution, but in its abuses. But by race-evolution of the Negro this relation became less and less natural, and therefore less and less right. It was probably becoming wrong before the war. Even without a war, and an emancipation proclamation, I believe slavery would certainly have come to an end, not by the external pressure of a foreign sentiment, but by the internal pressure of race-growth. The race-evolution of the Negro had gone as far as it was possible under the conditions of slavery. Freedom in some form or degree was necessary for its further evolution. I say "some form or degree"; for the right to freedom, as we understand it in this country, has not yet been achieved by the Negro race in the South, as a whole. By slavery the Negro has been educated up to the right to some measure of freedom, but not as a race to complete freedom. Some form or degree of control by the white race is still absolutely necessary. I mean not personal control, but control of State policy. There can be no doubt that some device by means of which the policy of the community shall be substantially under the control of those alone who are most capable of self-government is the absolute condition of civilization there. What is the best legal device for this purpose is just the problem to be worked out by the Southern people, and they will work it out if let alone.

The Wide Significance of the Problem.

It is impossible to exaggerate the importance to the South of this problem, for the very existence of a civilized community there is conditioned on its successful solution. But it is also a problem of widest application, affecting all the races on the face of the earth. Everywhere the white race is pushing its way among lower races. Everywhere, now that slavery is inadmissible, the result is gradual extinction of the lower race. And this tendency to destroy lower races is steadily increasing with the increased energy of modern civilization. Is this result inevitable? If not, how is it to be avoided? Nowhere are the opportunities for the successful solution of this question so favorable as at the South to-day. In the first place, the problem is a more pressing one there than anywhere else; it must be solved, and that speedily. In the second place, the Negro is the very best race that could be selected for the purpose. As this is an important point, I stop a moment to explain.

In this regard the inferior races may be divided into two groups—viz., those which are inferior because undeveloped, and those which are so because developed, perhaps highly developed, in a limited way or in a wrong direction. Races of the first group may be called generalized; they are plastic, adaptable to new conditions, and therefore easily molded by contact with higher races. Those of the second group are specialized; they are rigid, unadaptable to new conditions. The Negro is the best type of the first group, and perhaps the Chinese of the second group. The Chinese are a highly developed race, but extremely rigid under the influence of other races. The Japanese are far more plastic. The Negro has many fine and hopeful qualities. He is plastic, docile, impressionable, sympathetic, imitative, and therefore in a high degree improvable by contact with a superior race and under suitable conditions. It is doubtful if any other race could have so thrived and improved under slavery as the Negro has done. But, although the Negro by means of slavery has been raised above slavery, it would be a great mistake to suppose that he has yet reached the position of equality with the white race—that unassisted he can found a free civilized community. The question, therefore, still remains, What is the just and rational relation that should subsist between the two races? It is the problem of race-

contact everywhere, but here under conditions most favorable for successful solution.

Objections.

Doubtless many objections will be raised against the foregoing positions. Many persons will not even admit the gravity of the problem, or that any solution is necessary. For them, the formula, "All men are born equal," is a sufficient solution. They say that the Southern people are wholly wrong in imagining any difficulty in the matter—that elsewhere among civilized peoples, as, for example, in Europe and in New England, Negroes are treated much like people of other and whiter color. True; but it must be borne in mind that relative numbers is a prime factor in the question. If there be only a few of a lower race scattered about in a community, we can afford to recognize, nay more, to patronize—nay more, if it serves any purpose, to lionize them. But when the numbers are equal or nearly so, when there is a struggle between the two races for control of the policy of the community, the case is very different. The higher race must take control. There is not a civilized community in the world that would not demand this. The Hindu visitor in England is treated with respect, and even lionized, but in India the race line is drawn nearly as sharply as it is at the South, and yet the Hindu is a Caucasian—aye, even an Aryan people. See, again, the relation between the English and the aboriginal Australian or the New Zealander whenever they come in close contact. If the problem is not so serious in these countries, it is only because there is still room enough and to spare—the lower race may withdraw itself from close contact, if it so desires. It is evident, then, that the feeling which draws the race line is not peculiar to the South, but is found everywhere under similar conditions. Nor is it a matter of political party. Northern Republicans, settling at the South, soon catch the infection.

But it will be objected again that any relation between the races other than that of complete equality in all respects is manifestly in conflict with the fundamental law of the nation, and especially the recent amendments of the Constitution. I sincerely hope not. I hope and believe that there may be found some just and rational method of solving this problem which will not be in conflict with

fundamental law. But if not—if there be indeed a radical discordance, an irreconcilable conflict between fundamental law and the position taken above—then I do not hesitate to say, So much the worse for the fundamental law and the constitutional amendments, for it only shows that these are themselves in conflict with the still more fundamental laws of Nature, which are the laws of God. If it be so, then the South is very sorry, but it can't be helped. There is a law of self-preservation for communities as well as for individuals, and this law takes precedence of all other laws. It is a higher law if you like. It will be remembered that in 1850 Massachusetts, too, preached a higher law than the Constitution. If ever there were a case in which the doctrine of a higher law was justifiable, surely it is this. It is true that sacrifice of the individual freely to the State is noble. It is true that Socrates—not to mention a still higher and diviner example—subordinated the law of self-preservation itself to the laws of the State, and we reverence him for so doing. But remember, first, that this was done on high ethical, not legal, grounds; and, secondly, that when, as in this case, the question is that of preservation, not of the individual, but of the community, of civilization, of the interests of humanity, the law of self-preservation stands on the highest ethical as well as the strictest legal grounds. In this case the right of self-preservation becomes the duty of self-preservation.

The whites, I believe, desire earnestly—more earnestly than can be well imagined by those at a distance—the real best interests of the blacks. They earnestly desire their elevation both by education and by acquisition of property. There can be no better evidence of this than the fact that nearly the whole expense (ninety per cent in South Carolina) of the education of the blacks is borne by the whites. They would grant, I am sure, every just right; but all on the one condition that in some way the whites shall, for the present at least, substantially control the policy of the State. This is an absolute necessity at present and until some better solution of the problem be devised, until some better line than the race-line be drawn between the capables and the incapables. That this is true is plainly shown by the disastrous results of the brief reign of carpet-baggers sustained by Negro votes after the war, and the immediate restoration of order and prosperity so soon as the whites again assumed control.

But it will be objected again that the race-line is artificial, and therefore unjust and irrational, and that there are many blacks more capable of intelligently directing the policy of the State than some whites. Yes, this is true. But are not all lines more or less artificial? Can there be anything more artificial than the age-line? Are there not many persons under twenty-one more capable than many over twenty-one? In this case, it is true, the admitted injustice will be speedily removed by advancing age. But so in the other, also, the admitted injustice will, we hope, be removed, though not so speedily, by race-growth, race-education. In both cases it is an age-line—in the one case of the individual, in the other of the race. The one is no more unjust than the other.

But again it will be objected that the race-line is wholly the result of race-prejudice, and this in its turn only a remnant of slavery. It may, indeed, be partly the result of race-prejudice, but not, I think, a remnant of slavery. The race-prejudice is not confined to the South. On the contrary, it is probably less there than elsewhere. But race-prejudice or race-repulsion, to use a stronger term, is itself not a wholly irrational feeling. It is probably an instinct necessary to preserve the blood purity of the higher race. But of this I shall have more to say hereafter.

(*b*) *The Principles of Race-improvement.*

I have spoken of the color-line as a race-age-line, which, even though no better line could be drawn, would not remain, but be eventually removed by race-development. This leads me to speak of the principles of race-improvement.

It has been imagined by many over-sanguine persons that the whole race problem will be speedily solved by public-school education. This, I suppose, is the form of solution present in the minds of most people. I am quite sure this is to some extent a delusion. Education has done much for the Negro, but it will not solve the problem in this generation, nor in many generations. The education of the individuals must not be confounded with the evolution of the race. There can be no doubt that the evolution of races is largely determined by the same factors that determine the evolution of the organic kingdom. Now, there are some biologists of highest rank who go so far as to deny that individual acquirements can be inherited at all. If

these biologists are right, then education of individuals does not improve the race at all. I do not agree with these biologists, and have given my reasons in a previous article.* Nevertheless, it is certain that in animals, and also in man, the whole improvement of the individual is not carried over bodily into the next generation by inheritance, but only a very small part. A small part of the improvement of each generation is carried over by inheritance to the next, and this, accumulating from age to age, constitutes the gradual evolution of the race. Thus the education of the individual is one thing and the evolution of the race is another and very different thing. The one is a question of a few years, the other a question of centuries, perhaps millenniums. The truth is, education—i. e., school education, book education—is usually regarded as a panacea for all the evils of society. But this is a false and very pernicious view. The experimental philosophy of the last age, and still prevalent in this, would make the whole intellectual and moral capital of every individual the result of his own individual acquirement. This is an arrogant philosophy. It exalts too much the importance of the individual, and has had much to do with many of the evils of society of the present day. But one of the most important recent modifications of our philosophy of life, forced upon us by the theory of evolution, is the recognition of the fact that a very large part of every man's intellectual and moral capital comes by inheritance. In animals all or nearly all is inherited; in man a part is inherited and a part individually acquired. The higher the race, the larger is the proportion of individual acquirement. But in all cases the inherited bank account is continually growing from generation to generation by small additions from individual acquisition. The growing inheritance constitutes the evolution of the race.

But some will object that, so far as the evidence of the schools is concerned, there is no sufficient reason for regarding the Negro as at all lower than the white race. On the contrary, the Negro pupils show remarkable brightness. This is probably true. They do indeed show brightness, quickness of memory, keenness of senses, precocity of perceptive faculties. These qualities are very characteristic of nearly all lower races (and, indeed, also of animals); but they must not be confounded with the reflective, originating,

* The Factors of Evolution, etc. The Monist for July, 1891.

rational faculties which develop late, and show themselves in active life rather than in school. It is in these highest faculties alone that the great difference exists.

Again: In these modern times there is a strong tendency to exaggerate the importance of *formal* education (i.e., school education, book education) as compared with *informal* education. Now, in all of us, but especially in lower races, it is the informal education—that which comes by contact with higher individuals and higher races—that is by far the most important in the formation of character, and therefore for self-government and fitting for citizenship. The simple contact with the white race in slavery times, and the same contact together with the necessity of self-support since emancipation, has done more for the elevation of the Negro than school education alone could possibly have done. Not only has the Negro been elevated to his present condition by contact with the white race, but he is sustained in that position wholly by the same contact, and whenever that support is withdrawn he relapses again to his primitive state. The Negro race is still in childhood; it has not yet learned to walk alone in the paths of civilization. In the South to-day wherever the whites predominate, so that the policy of the community is determined by them alone, the Negroes are industrious, thrifty, commencing to acquire property, and, in fact, improving in every way. But, on the contrary, wherever the Negroes are largely in excess, as in some portions of the coast regions of the South Atlantic and Gulf States, so that the influence of the whites is scarcely felt and the community is essentially African, the Negroes are rapidly falling back into savagery, and even resuming many of their original pagan rites and superstitions.

(*c*) *Principles of Race-mixture.*

Another proposed solution of the problem is complete race-mixture. Race-mixture often produces good effects: why not this? I know of no American writer of distinction who has proposed this solution, but some thoughtful English writers see no other solution possible. This brings me to discuss this subject in the light of biology, and especially of evolution.

In a previous article, on Genesis of Sex (Popular Science Monthly, November, 1879), I have treated this subject more fully on the biological side, and in another article,

on Mixture of Races (Berkeley Quarterly for April, 1880), I have applied the biological principles to the subject of human progress. I can here only give a brief *résumé*, referring the reader for fuller details to the articles mentioned.

Darwin, by abundant and conclusive experiments, has shown that in plants in which the flowers are bisexual—i. e., contain both stamens and pistils—and are thus self-fertilizing, if self-fertilization be prevented and cross-fertilization between different flowers of the same plant, or, still better, between flowers of different plants of the same species, be effected, the result will be more and larger seeds, and therefore more and healthier offspring, than in the case of self-fertilization. Now, this experiment undoubtedly furnishes the key to the explanation of the advantages of sexual over other forms of generation, and the object of its introduction, as well as of much else in the process of evolution. There can be no doubt that non-sexual preceded sexual modes of generation, and that the sexual modes were introduced in order thereby to bring about cross-fertilization; and, furthermore, that throughout the whole evolution of the organic kingdom the constant effort of Nature has been to bring about an increasing diversity of the crossing individuals up to a limit which will be presently explained; and, finally, that the object of all this, or at least its effect, has been to produce better and better results in the offspring.

The steps of this process were briefly as follows: (1) First there was only the simplest conceivable form of generation, viz., that by fission—fissiparous generation. Here there is not even the distinction between parent and offspring. (2) Next there was generation by budding—gemmiparous generation—but from any part alike. Here first emerges the distinction of parent and offspring, for the bud is but a small part of the original organism. (3) Then, by the law of specialization, the function of budding is relegated to a particular part, and we have a budding organ. (4) Then by another general law the budding organ is transferred for greater safety to an interior surface, and thus simulates an ovary, though not a true ovary. (5) Then this organ develops two kinds of cells—sperm-cell and germ-cell. Here for the first time we have the sexual elements—male and female—which by their union produce the ovum, which in its turn develops into the offspring. This

is the lowest form of sexual generation. We have male and female *elements*, but not male and female *organs*, much less male and female *individuals*. (6) The next step is the separation of the two organs, male and female—spermary and ovary—which prepare the two elements, sperm-cell and germ-cell; but these organs yet remain in the same individual. This is hermaphroditism, almost universal among plants and very common among lower animals. (7) The next step is the introduction of devices of many kinds to prevent self-fertilization and insure cross-fertilization between different hermaphroditic individuals. (8) The next step is the separation of the sexual organs in different individuals, thus entirely preventing self-fertilization; and the introduction of sex-attraction, insuring cross-fertilization. (9) The next step is the gradually increasing diversity of the crossing individuals—i. e., of the males and females. (10) The last step, and the one which specially concerns us here, is the crossing of males and females of different varieties of the same species. These are the principal steps; but of course there are many gradations between.

Now, the effect, and therefore the object, of this whole process of gradual differentiation is the bringing about of better results in the offspring. Why the results are better, is more obscure. It is undoubtedly due in some way to the increasing diversity of the qualities inherited by the offspring from the two parents—the funding of diverse qualities in a common offspring. This may improve the offspring in two ways: First, by the struggle for life among the many qualities, good and bad, strong and weak, inherited from both sides, and the survival of the strongest and best qualities. Secondly, diversity of inheritance tends to variation of offspring, and this furnishes materials for natural selection, and thus hastens the process of evolution. But *there is a limit to the good effects of this differentiation of uniting individuals;* for the union of individuals of different species is either less fertile or wholly infertile. In other words, when the difference between the uniting individuals reaches the extent which we call species, then Nature practically forbids the bans. I say *practically* forbids. There are many degrees of fertility and infertility between species. In most cases the infertility is absolute—i. e., the union is without offspring. In some there is offspring, but the offspring is a sterile hybrid which dies without issue. In some the hybrid is fertile, but its offspring is feeble, and

therefore quickly eliminated in the struggle for life with the pure stock, and becomes extinct in a few generations; or else it is more fertile with the pure stock than with other hybrids, and therefore is absorbed into one or other of the parent stocks, and the original species remain distinct. If this were not so, there would be no such thing as species at all.

Now, to sum up and apply: It is well known that in the higher animals close, consanguineous, in-and-in breeding continued for a long time weakens the stock, while judicious crossing of varieties strengthens the stock. But there must be a limit beyond which the effect again becomes bad; for when the difference between the uniting individuals reaches the extent of species, Nature forbids the bans—i. e., there is no result at all. It is evident, therefore, that we may represent the effect of cross-breeding among higher animals by a sinuous curve, as shown below:

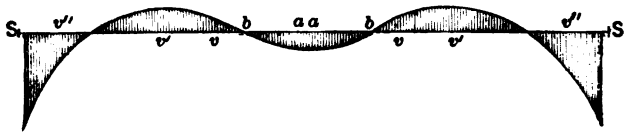

DIAGRAM ILLUSTRATING THE EFFECTS OF CROSS-BREEDING.

In this diagram the horizontal line represents the average results of indiscriminate breeding, or the ordinary typical condition of the species. Distance of points on this line represents the amount of difference of uniting individuals, and the sinuous line represents the varying effects of crossing of selected varieties. Where this line passes below the horizontal line it shows effects below the average; when above that line, effects above the average. By inspection it is seen that close in-and-in breeding, *a a*, produces bad effects; *b b* represent ordinary individual differences, the crossing of which produces average results, and tends to maintain the average level; *v v* represent varieties, the crossing of which produces good results, which rise to a maximum at *v' v'*, and then declining again, become bad or below the average at *v'' v''*; until, finally, when the difference of the uniting individuals reaches the extent which we call species, *s s*, then the result becomes infinitely bad—i. e., produces no offspring. In a general way, therefore, the diagram represents the facts of cross-breeding.

Now, there can be no doubt that the above law applies also to man, with perhaps some modifications, to be determined by investigation. There can be no doubt that long-continued consanguineous, in-and-in breeding has a bad effect also in man, and probably even more so than in animals. I am well aware that some recent writers have contested this statement, but the examples cited are those of isolated communities under peculiarly healthy conditions; and, moreover, the argument relates only to the physical and not to the psychical nature. But it is the psychical nature which is peculiarly sensitive, and which we are specially concerned with here, for we are discussing the effects on human evolution or progress. Bodily health and strength are, of course, a necessary underlying condition; but human evolution is spiritual, not bodily. Organic evolution is by change of form and making of new species, in order to come into harmony with an ever-changing environment. Man, on the other hand, changes the environment so as to bring it into harmony with himself and his wants; and, therefore, his evolution is not by change of form or making of new species of man, but by change of character and elevation of the plane of his activity.

But to return. There can be no doubt that consanguineous breeding of families, true breeding in isolated communities, and even continuous breeding within the limits of a national variety, tend in various degrees to fixedness of character, customs, laws, modes of thought and feeling, and thus, finally, to rigidity and arrest of development; while, on the other hand, the crossing of family bloods, communal bloods, and national bloods tends not only to strengthen physically and mentally by the survival of the best qualities inherited from both sides, but also, and much more, to prevent fixedness of character and arrest of development, to confer plasticity, comprehensiveness, many-sidedness, and thus to promote progress. No doubt commerce, travel, education, all tend in the same direction, but mixture of blood and diverse inheritance is the most direct and potent means of accomplishing this result.

It is evident, then, that the effect of mixing human varieties is similar to the effect of mixing animal varieties, and that in a general way both are truly represented by the diagram. The only question that remains is: What amount of difference produces maximum results; and where, if anywhere, do bad results begin? This question can not be

answered with certainty; but it seems probable that the crossing of national varieties, and perhaps of all varieties within the limits of the four or five primary races, may produce good effects; but that the crossing of these primary races themselves produces bad effects. It seems probable that in the evolution of man from the animal kingdom there was a differentiation into varieties so strong that they may be regarded as incipient species. If so, then the divergence between these primary races has passed the limit within which crossing has a good effect. The results of such crossing partake somewhat of the nature of hybrids—they are less strong than either of the pure races. Race-aversion—which certainly exists, though it may be overleaped by passion—is probably a sign of a difference approaching specific.

This conclusion, reached by general considerations alone, is substantially confirmed by such loose observations as have been made on such crosses. Opportunities of widest observation on this point occur at the South; but, unfortunately, they have not been as careful and scientific as we would desire. There seems little doubt, however, that mulattoes have not the strength and endurance of either of the pure races. It is certain that they are much more liable to hereditary diseases, especially the different forms of scrofula. It is almost certain that when they marry among themselves the next generation is even still feebler; and it is probable, though not certain, that in a few generations they would die out unless re-enforced by the stronger blood of the pure races, in which case, of course, they would disappear by absorption into the one race or the other. In intellect the mulatto is certainly superior to the Negro; but it is doubtful if he attains even the mean between the two races; it is doubtful whether the white blood does not lose more than the black gains by the mixture. These conclusions have been reached by nearly all observers, as, for example, by Morton, Nott, Glidden, Gobineau, Ferrier, etc. I know of but one writer—Quatrefages—who contests them. The question is a very complex one. Moral influences may have much to do with the dying out of a race. The anomalous position of the mulatto, recognized by neither race, may have its effect. But this again is only another evidence that successful mixing is impossible.

But some, even here in America, have thought that, whether we like it or not, whether the effect of mixture be

good or bad, the problem is going to solve itself in this way. I am not sure, but I think they are mistaken. The mixing of the races has been greatly exaggerated because observed mostly in the cities. On the plantations the mixed breeds have always been rare. In the next place, the mixing is becoming less and less every day. In proportion as the Negroes become more self-respecting, they withdraw more and more from this kind of relation with the whites, and to some extent from the mixed breeds. The mixed breeds are not increasing in number, and, as already said, they will either die out or be absorbed into one or other of the pure races. In addition to this natural and spontaneous withdrawal, nearly if not quite all of the Southern States have passed laws forbidding mixed marriages. In this regard, therefore, the color-line is likely to be permanent.*

Destiny of the Lower Races.

The extreme interest of the general question of the destiny of the lower races, and its close connection with the question in hand, induces me to digress here in order to discuss it very briefly.

If the views presented above be true, then for the lower races everywhere (leaving out slavery) there is eventually but one of two alternatives—viz., either extermination or mixture. But if mixture makes a feeble race, then this also is only a slower process of extermination. Is extermination, then, the inexorable fate of all the lower races? Shall the pitiless law of organic evolution—the law of destruction of the weak and the survival of only the strongest races—be the law of human evolution also? It may indeed be so, but let us hope not. It may be that there is a way of escape. Let us see.

I suppose the blue-eyed, fair-haired Teuton on the one hand, and the black on the other, may be regarded as extreme types, and that their mixture will produce the worst results. The mixture of the Spaniard and Indian in Mexico and South America has produced a hardy and prolific race, although it must be acknowledged that the result in social

* Some years ago it was believed and stated that the blacks were increasing much faster than the whites. If this were true, they would soon overrun not only the South, but the whole country. But it is not true. The belief was based on false statistics which are now corrected. The problem is serious enough without this aggravation. They are not now increasing as fast as the whites, on account of the much higher death-rate.

organization and social progress has not been encouraging. But if we admit the result in this case as more favorable than that in the case of the mixture of the Anglo-Saxon and the Negro, may we not in this fact glimpse a hope for the lower races in general? The primary races, though wide apart in their extreme types, approach each other on their margins. Is it not possible that these marginal varieties of primary races may approach sufficiently near to mix with advantage, and thus may be formed secondary types that may mix successfully with even the extreme types? To illustrate: If the connection between the extreme types form an arch too wide to be stable, may not each extreme connect with a more intermediate type on each side, and form two stable arches which shall be the abutments of a still higher central arch? If mixing is possible at all, it would seem that it must be by such gradual approaches.

Now, there are many reasons for believing that if successful mixing be at all possible, such mixing would be better for humanity than extinction of the lower races and the survival of the white race alone. There are valuable qualities in the lower races which ought not to be lost, which ought to be incorporated into the perfect ideal humanity for which we hope; and this can be done only, or at least most directly, by mixture. The effect of true breeding as already seen may be excellent in one direction—i. e., in perfecting certain limited qualities—but tends to fix and finally to petrify character and arrest progress. Mixing produces a more plastic material, a better clay, a more generalized and therefore a more progressive type. Therefore it may well be that, after the best results of breeding within the limits of the primary races have been attained in the production of the highest race civilizations in several directions, then the judicious mixture, as explained above, of these perfected varieties, will produce a generalized type capable of indefinite progress in *all* directions. Civilization, then, will no longer be Anglo-Saxon, or Teutonic, or European, or Aryan, or Caucasian, but human. If something like this be not possible, then are the lower races indeed doomed.

Or, to put it another way: Any civilization is long-lived in proportion as it is general—i. e., as it includes more of the elements of a complete humanity. Greek civilization was admirable, but simple, narrow, national. Therefore, like an annual plant, it grew up rapidly, flowered and fruited gloriously, and died quickly. Roman civilization was more

general. It was not national but Mediterranean. It was longer-lived—its trunk more solid but not perennial. It also perished. Modern civilization is Aryan. It is still more general, more complex, contains more elements of humanity, and is therefore still longer-lived. But unless it incorporates *all* the elements of a perfect humanity, it also must perish. If there be indeed valuable qualities in the lower races and characteristic of them which ought to be incorporated in a perfect humanity, then the ideal civilization must include these also. The final civilization will thus be coextensive with human nature, with the earth surface, and with the life of humanity.

After this digression on the general question of the destiny of the lower races, we return to the immediate subject in hand—viz., the adjustment, in the light of the preceding principles, of the relation between the two races in the South on a just and rational basis. On this strictly practical subject I shall be brief, because my main object is the exposition of principles, not their application in practical politics. If the question be only viewed in the right spirit and from the scientific standpoint, it will be quickly solved by practical men.

The problem divides itself into two main branches—viz., the political and the ethical. The political is the more immediate and urgent, and therefore taken up first; but the ethical is more fundamental.

The Political Problem.

Before taking up any special mode of solution, it is necessary to insist on an important general principle. The race problem, like all complex social problems, is not to be solved at once out of hand, as many think. We have had far too much of this kind of solution of political problems already in history. A true solution is a slow process of evolution, having many steps, each adapted to the existing conditions. The final solution is only reached in an ideal condition of society. This is what is meant by a question solving itself. The only question at any moment is: What is the best thing to be done now under present conditions? The problem is a complex equation, requiring many steps in its solution. The question is, What is the best next step?

Some imagine that all that is necessary to solve the problem is to break up the "solid South"—that parties should

divide as elsewhere on other lines than the color-line. This, like many other pretended solutions, is a mere ignoring of the problem. Eventually, doubtless, parties must so divide, but not now, nor until some other or better line between the capables and the incapables be drawn and recognized. The Negro race as a whole is certainly at present incapable of self-government and unworthy of the ballot; and their participation without distinction in public affairs can only result in disaster. The Negroes themselves are beginning to recognize this. They are withdrawing themselves more and more from politics. Everywhere the black vote is small in proportion to their numbers. And this is due not wholly to intimidation, as many think. Doubtless intimidation has been used in the South as elsewhere; perhaps more than elsewhere, for the motive was stronger—viz., the existence of a civilized community. But this is not the only nor indeed the principal cause. The Negroes now see that their first hopes of the magical power of the ballot were fallacious. They are now beginning to believe that the whites are not their enemies but their friends, and are better able to take care of their interests than they are themselves. Thus, even in the sea-coast counties of Georgia, which I have recently visited, where the blacks outnumber the whites in some parts ten to one, and where intimidation is impossible and never was attempted, the county is now represented in the Legislature by white men alone. The same thing is shown by the fact that the law making the payment of a poll-tax of one or two dollars a qualification for voting practically disfranchises nearly all the blacks; not because they can not pay it, but because to them the privilege is not worth so much.

I repeat, then, that the blacks as a whole are unworthy of the ballot. The South is not solid against the North or against any party as a party, but she is solid for self-government by the white race as the only self-governing race. Until some better line be drawn defining a self-governing class, she is obliged to be solid. That some such better line will be made I can not doubt, for the color-line pure and simple can not continue. It is not only manifestly unjust, and therefore debauching to the political honesty of the whites, but is a constant source of irritation, and therefore fraught with danger.

But the question returns: By what just and legal means can we secure government by a self-governing class alone?

I answer without hesitation: By a limitation of the ballot, by a qualification for voting, both of education and of property. I see no possible solution but this, and this I believe would be effectual. It would be perfectly just and perfectly rational. It would exclude many whites, but only such as should be excluded. It would include many blacks, but only such as are fit to vote. I said a qualification both of education and of property. Perhaps most persons will agree to the justice of the former; but I regard the latter as by far the more important. It is so not only nor mainly on the ground usually assigned—viz., its conservative tendency—but also and chiefly because it is the best index of a self-governing capacity. In the higher races, in advanced stages of civilization, and in highly cultured communities there are doubtless many men who take no heed to accumulate property, not, however, from shiftlessness, but because they have higher and better things to do. They are so busy with higher and better things that they have no time to make money. But in uncultured men generally, and especially in lower races, there is no better, I might almost say there is no other, evidence of character necessary for the exercise of the ballot than the steady industry and self-denial necessary to accumulate property. Mere book education, on the contrary, though easily acquired by the Negro on account of his quick apprehensiveness, has little effect on character, and is but small guarantee for self-governing capacity.

I would make the qualification of both kinds small—as small as is at all consistent with effectiveness—because I recognize the powerfully educating effect of the ballot itself. Freedom educates for freedom, and therefore should be given even in larger measure than deserved. Privilege educates for the right use of privilege, and therefore as much should be given as is consistent with safety. This is a true principle in all education, whether of individuals, of communities, or of races. But although the ballot educates for the right use of the ballot, yet its reasonable limitation is a still more potent educator; for it is the most powerful of all inducements to improvement of all kinds.

The golden opportunity for the introduction of these qualifications was certainly at the time of the reconstruction of the Southern States immediately after the war. I well remember that when the constitutional convention of South Carolina under the call of President Johnson met at

Columbia, although not myself a member of that convention, I urged on my friends who were members the necessity of opening at once the franchise to both races, without distinction, but making an educational and property qualification. But the sentiment of the South was not yet ripe for such a policy. If such qualifications could have been made at that time, the South would have been saved all the horrors of carpet-bag rule. But it is vain to indulge regret. I suppose it was impossible at that time, not only because the South was unprepared, but also because even if it had been done it would not have been accepted by Congress. Now, however, that the State governments are fully established, it can be done if the whites really desire it. Some qualification separating the capables from the incapables, the worthy from the unworthy, is probably the greatest want of the country everywhere. It can be done more easily at the South than anywhere else, because the necessity is greater, and because of the wider difference between the intelligent and unintelligent classes there.

Some feeble attempts have been made in this direction in certain parts of the South, and always with the best effects. In many States a law making payment of a small poll-tax of one or two dollars a condition of voting disfranchises a large majority of the ignorant blacks. It disfranchises some whites, too, but this is no objection. Other and less justifiable but legal means have been used to diminish the incapable vote, such as the eight-ballot-box law in South Carolina. Mississippi alone has gone still farther in this direction, and that because the necessity was greater there than in most States. In the recent constitution of that State there is a qualification for voting, including the ability to read, or else to understand and interpret the constitution and laws (a much harder condition than mere ability to read, but too indefinite), and also the payment of all taxes, including a poll-tax of two dollars, for the two preceding years. May we not hope that these qualifications will be increased in amount and extended throughout the South, and that they will become an entering wedge to accomplish the same result throughout the whole country?

It was thought by some that limitation of suffrage would diminish representation in Congress. This is still an open question, but probably it would not. (See Cooley, General Provisions of Constitutional Law, pp. 263, 264.) But, in any case, if the South is not willing to sacrifice some-

thing for the sake of good government, she does not deserve it.*

Some Principles of the Ethical Problem discussed.

The classes of society, the principles on which they are based, and how far they are rational and just, this is the question which must now be discussed, for the so-called race-line is of this nature. The whites and blacks at the South are absolutely separated in society. They have separate churches, separate schools, separate colleges, and in large measure separate cars, separate hotels, etc. In the present state of feeling the Negroes themselves—many of them—prefer it so. Is the state of feeling right? It is evident that this question requires a discussion of some very fundamental ethical principles.

Nature is so complex that it can not be understood until simplified by classification. Things and phenomena can not be dealt with as individuals, for they are too numerous and diversified; they must be dealt with in groups or classes. The grouping of forces and phenomena constitutes physical science; the grouping of forms and objects, natural history. The process of grouping in physical science is called generalization, in natural history classification. This grouping is the most fundamental process in the construction of science. Either name would do, but we shall usually call it classification, because we will deal with grouping of forms and objects.

Now, man's mission on the earth is to understand Nature. But see the dilemma in which the human mind finds itself. It is impossible to advance a single step in science—i. e., in the rational comprehension of Nature—without classification; and yet a true classification—i. e., one that expresses the true relations of things—is impossible without complete scientific knowledge. Therefore he is compelled to make an arbitrary, artificial, provisional classification of some sort, to enable him to manage his material. Any classification is better than none; any kind of order is better than chaos. By the use of this provisional classification science or ra-

* Colonization has been proposed as an easy solution of the problem. Some of the most intelligent of the Negroes themselves—for example, Bishop Turner, of the African Methodist Church—earnestly advocate this plan. I say nothing of this plan, (1) because the Negroes very naturally refuse to colonize, (2) because the whites themselves would be loath to lose so valuable a laboring class, and (3) because this method would not touch the general question of race-contact.

tional knowledge is gradually accumulated, and this knowledge becomes, in its turn, the basis of a natural classification. But, unfortunately, often, especially in higher and more complex departments of thought, the provisional character of the first classification is not recognized, and the change into a more natural classification, which ought to take place gradually as science advances, is resisted by a too rigid conservatism, and, therefore, can only take place by revolution.

This law of the advance of rational thought is so fundamental and important that I must try to make it clear by illustrations. I might use for this purpose any department of science, but I select botany as the best.

The object of the botanist is to make a perfect natural classification of plants—i. e., a classification which shall express perfectly the natural affinities or degrees of kinship, or order of evolution of all plants. But, on the one hand, it is impossible to make such a classification without exhaustive knowledge of plants; on the other, it is impossible to begin to acquire such knowledge without a previous classification. How did the botanist emerge from this dilemma? He made first an artificial classification. Under the light and guidance of this, scientific knowledge became possible, and by the co-operation of an army of workers in every part of the world it was steadily accumulated. In proportion as knowledge of true relations of plants increased a natural classification based on these became possible and gradually displaced the artificial, though at first not without some resistance.

Observe now the difference between these two kinds of classifications. The one is the condition of rational knowledge, and the agent of its initiation, and the other is the compendious expression of rational knowledge, and the agent of its continuous advance. The one is of necessity perfect, rigid, made at once out of hand, as all artificial things are; the other is never perfect, but ever growing, evolving, as all natural things do, in order to adapt itself to an ever-growing knowledge, until finally it again disappears in the light of a perfect knowledge of individuals and their relations. Thus, when rational knowledge is perfect, like that of God, then classification or generalization will have done its perfect work and disappear. Or, to put it in another way: In artificial classification the division lines between classes are sharp, hard, and fast; in natural classification, and in pro-

portion as it is natural, classes shade into each other more and more until the division lines disappear. Thus, the human mind starting from animal sense-perception of individuals without relations, passes through classification, and finally reaches perfect rational perception of individuals and their relations—from chaos through artificial order to rational order.

This law meets us in every department of thought and of human activity. It meets us, therefore, in the classification of society. The relations of individuals to one another are so numerous, diverse, and complex that they form at first a bewildering chaos. Now, man is put here in this world and the problem given him to solve is a rational classification or organization of society. But, on the one hand, such an organization is impossible without a complete knowledge of human relations—i. e., a complete sociology; on the other, such knowledge is impossible without a previous organization. Therefore, the first step in civilization is the classification of individuals on some obvious basis, however artificial and arbitrary, as the very condition of civilization and of rational knowledge. Any classification is better than none. It may be based on conquest, or on race, or on wealth, or on family, or on pursuit in life, or on any other obvious distinction. Then, with the advance of science or rational knowledge this classification must be modified and made more and more rational. In the ideal society, when sociology is complete and the moral nature of man perfect, when rational knowledge of human relations and the will to act in accordance with these relations is perfect, then I suppose classes of society, as we now know them, will have served their purpose and disappear. In other words, every man's position in the estimation of his fellow-men will be determined wholly by his real worth in every way, but especially his intellectual and moral worth. The non-recognition of this law is the cause of all revolutions.

Now, this law applies, of course, to the classes or castes of society as they exist to-day, and is their sufficient justification. In early stages of society these are arbitrary, artificial, rigid, separated by hard and fast lines impossible to overpass. In so far as they are so, they are unnatural and oppressive. But they were thoroughly recognized and regarded as inevitable, and society was therefore comparatively peaceful. They are now becoming less and less rigid, less and less impassable, especially in this country; but also their artifi-

ciality, their irrationality, and therefore injustice, are more and more recognized, and therefore society is becoming more and more restive. The time has come when classes of society must on the one hand be put on a more rational basis, and on the other must be recognized as a necessary condition of civilization.

Now, race-classes not only come under the same head, but are more natural and rational than many others, because founded on a real natural difference—i. e., a difference in the grade of evolution; and, moreover, where the difference is as great as it is between the Anglo-Saxon and the Negro, the class-distinction seems absolutely necessary, at least for the present. This class-distinction, therefore, is peculiar, in that it is more rational than others in so far as it is more natural, but less rational in so far as the separating line (race-line) is more rigid and impassable, and partakes of the nature of caste. This natural caste-line can not be broken down, and, as it seems to me, ought not, until we understand better than we now do the laws of the effects of race-mixture. If the effects of the mixture of the extreme primary races be bad, not only immediately, but for all time and under any mode of regulation, then the law of organic evolution, the law of destruction of the lower races and the survival of only the higher, must prevail and the race-line must never be broken over. If, on the other hand, mixture of the extreme primary races can in any way and by any rational mode of regulation be made to elevate the human race, then the race-line must and ought to be broken down and complete mixture must eventually take place. We are not yet prepared to speak confidently on this subject.

Meanwhile, the exercise of mutual forbearance and kindness—in other words, of a true rational spirit—will do much even to mitigate or even to remove entirely the evils of the race-line. We must wait and let the problem solve itself. If only the spiritual brotherhood be realized, it will matter little if the physical distinction remain.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISCUSSION.

MR. JAMES A. SKILTON:

I was extremely fortunate in having the privilege of opening the discussion of the paper read by Prof. Mason on the Land Problem, and am not less so in having the privilege of opening the discussion of the thoroughly scientific and very valuable paper read this evening by the distinguished president of the American Society for the Advancement of Science.

Prof. Le Conte has treated the subject not only from the scientific and evolutionary point of view, but also from the point of view of the sincere and thoughtful man of Southern birth and experience. It has been my fortune, however, to have approached the subject from the opposite point of view of Northern birth and experience, supplemented by an extended and unique experience in the same Southern State, in the "black belt," and practically in the locality of Prof. Le Conte's birth and early life, where before the war I took an organized force of white laborers and had the immediate control at different times of free white labor and slave labor, with abundant opportunity for instructive study and comparison. In so far as I was capable, I then, and have since, applied to the study of the subject scientific and evolutionary principles, and, as for my own candor and sincerity, it is sufficient to say that these may be considered as necessarily implied in the application of such principles.

It was my fortune to begin to study Southern conditions on the spot in December, 1852, and to approach the subject with caution, followed by years of deliberation, only to reach the broader conclusions I shall present to you under the illuminating processes and effects of growing secession and war and what has since developed from them. When every man of my white force was struck down with malarial fever and I was left alone and unaided to take care of my house, stock, and crops, I began to feel that my tuition in Southern conditions was commencing in earnest; and when forced to hire slaves to take their places or quit, I faced the situation, hired the slaves, and in due time got my practical experience on the slave-labor side as I had before done on the free-labor side, both in a Southern locality. Furthermore, with the slaves employed to take the places of white men disabled by malarial fevers, I not only came into direct contact as master by hire, but, being recognized by them as coming from the land of freedom, had

to an unusual degree their confidence and trust in general, and frequently as to the deeper experiences of their personal and family lives.

It is usually very instructive, after having been put through a hard curriculum and learned your lesson, to watch others—those of different types, origins, and capacities—while they are being put through the same curriculum. This advantage I had in scores if not in hundreds of instances where the new scholars were Northern men or foreigners, newer or later comers in the South than myself, and thus have been able to review, reconsider, or verify my own observations and conclusions times without number.

Let me claim, then, that what I have to say is not presented as the view of a man of Northern birth who has recently begun the study of the subject, and, fresh from his first excursion, attempts to solve the Southern problem through the opportunities of a week's travel and of glimpses caught through the windows of a railroad car or of lessons learned in conversation with casual fellow-travelers. Having lived there and engaged in business, become a citizen, a voter, and subjected myself to all the influences of the Southern environment, I certainly have had the opportunity of obtaining an insight deeper than that of a transient person and of learning to understand and sympathize with the Southerner in the stupendous difficulties of his problem. In so doing I am glad to be able to say, nevertheless, that, scientific and evolutionary principles aiding me, I have never found myself compelled to sacrifice the broader Northern principles, properly so called, in which I was born and bred; certainly not my faith in freedom.

The truth of the matter is, the usual or current Northern and Southern views are neither of them sound or correct, and they never have been so. The real truth consists, and always has consisted, in a newer composite view that takes in parts of each, mainly the facts of the Southern view and the aspirations and hopes of the Northern view.

I have dwelt so much upon preliminaries because many years of experience have shown me the futility of the attempt to aid people to understand the real South unless they can be somehow, at least temporarily, dislocated from contemplation of the old view and so prepared to consider a different view.

To me, then, this opportunity is so unique that it can not well be repeated. I shall therefore spend no time on direct criticism of the paper of Prof. Le Conte in detail, but, hoping to equal him only in candor and sincerity, prefer to start from the opposite geographical point of the compass, and, in so far as the time permits, place my own thought parallel with his for the purposes of comparison as the method most likely to be instructive and beneficial; for then in those

matters in which there is agreement there will be re-enforcement, and in those matters in which there is disagreement, if any, there will be opportunity for further study if necessary.

From my own point of view the race question may be treated—indeed, must be treated—as a continuation or extension of the land question.* Either actually or by implication the facts of the race question and race conditions being placed alongside of or correlated with those of land questions and conditions, which as the product of an almost purely selfish commercial policy have resulted in destroying opportunity for proper growth and development, the inference will be either drawn or held in mind that the very existence of a race question is due to the mismanagement or misdirection of economic forces, and that the solution of the question can only be found in a change of commercial policy dictated by rightly managed and directed economic principles and forces; and I shall further proceed on the larger generalization advanced by Dr. Lyman Abbott, in his letter read at the last meeting, to the effect that our race question is "simply the problem of man," and no mere negro question or Afro or Afric-American question.

But here let me dispose of one branch of the topic in a word. If the system of land barbarization, which beyond question has located the negro where he is and to some extent made him what we find him there, is to continue, then for me the race question is already settled—I do not wish to see the white man enter a contest the goal of which is permanent barbarism. By all means let the most barbarous or the least civilized race capture and possess that goal without contest on the part of the race to which I belong, if natural or climatic law, the laws of commerce or society, present no alternative.

The really difficult parts of the race problem are chiefly due to hallucinations or misinformations. When these are disposed of it may be a matter of doubt whether any race problem remains. When we get below them and among the real facts of the case, we find that the negro is as much the product of evolution as any other race, that he belongs by nature and by history to the hotter and necessarily more backward regions of the world, to and in which he is constitutionally suited and the white race totally unsuited. Indeed, these facts show that while the blacks may not have the qualities required to civilize the temperate zones, the whites have shown no capacity for civilizing the tropics, and that the two races are therefore quits. Seemingly, we would prefer to take the negro out of his natural domain, in violation of evolutionary law and result, and force him to adapt himself to a new habitat instead of building on what has been done by Nature in the

* See The Land Problem, pp. 111 and 131.

past and helping to civilize his habitat and thereby the man and the race. If the white race would first really develop the fit civilization of its own habitat by following the true lines of sociological growth, it would then be in a position to assist the negro to do the same thing where he belongs, each thus aiding and neither hindering the other. Looking at the matter in this way, we may see that our duty is to build on the negro as he is rather than to attempt to reconstruct him on the plan of the white man. It is certain that the negro is in the world for a purpose, with a fitness at least to accomplish beneficent ends, if we can manage to understand, respect and aid in the application of the necessary means to accomplish those ends. And when we look him over and over and through and through, glancing our eyes between times at the conditions and possibilities of the hotter regions of the world to which he belongs, we will, if sufficiently clear-sighted, begin to suspect that about the worst use we could put him to would be to make him over on the white man's pattern; unless it be the substitution of a mongrel race in the place of the two races.

There is one almost universal hallucination lying here at the threshold and requiring removal before we can even properly enter upon discussion. In the first place, slavery was essentially a condition. It never was essentially an institution. It has been our great mistake that we have treated it as such, and only as such. It was a growth—in fact, an evolutionary growth. And as a condition it never was destroyed, never can be destroyed, either by a proclamation of emancipation, by a mere constitutional amendment, or by any other mere institutional means or method. Without going into an explanation of these statements, it is sufficient to quote the words of the master:

"No one can be perfectly free till all are free; no one can be perfectly moral till all are moral; no one can be perfectly happy till all are happy."

In other words, freedom, morality, and happiness must be universal or they can not exist. They must be the product of a universal condition—a condition in which the unity is created out of diversity by growth, by evolution.

While the ex-slaves of the South have since emancipation, so called, come into a time when they can claim political freedom and point to the fundamental law in support of that claim, they still remain under the dominion of the same economic and industrial law and condition in and by which they were originally made slaves, and can never become in fact free men—without something more than mere institutional change. Having no genuine economic freedom, they can have no real political or social freedom.

There is another point that needs clearing up to the Northern mind. Under slavery the slave was in essential particulars the pet of the system. His white master, the master's wife, and their children looked

after him with the most earnest and incessant care; not only did the lady of the plantation personally attend and nurse him when sick, but when he was assaulted the slave had his master for a protector; and I have myself seen an avenging master pursuing the white murderer of his slave, pistol in hand, with the same terrible expression on his face that he might have had if his son instead of his slave had been the victim of attack. In slavery, therefore, the position of the slave was in essential respects ostensibly better than that of the poor white who lived on his little clearing near by, and had no protector or avenger but himself. For the slave was assisted by his master in his struggle for survival and elevation in the scale of life. So far as this is concerned, therefore, emancipation threw the slave back on to the same level with the poor white, leaving him only the aid of the past benefits and protection of slavery to give him help in the battle of the future, certain to be of doubtful value.

And, fruitful as this age has been in opera bouffe, it is doubtful if any production in that line equals the performance of the abolitionists when, immediately after the war, they assembled in solemn council, disbanded their abolition societies, delivered their orations of self-praise, and marched off from the battle-field with drums beating and banners flaunting the air, at the very moment when the results of the war furnished them the opportunity to begin the battle for freedom as a condition in the South. No history of the past and no working scheme for the elevation of the negro in the future can miss or ignore the deep significance of this point and be of any value whatever. Practically the abolitionists treated freedom as well as slavery as institutional in character and origin; they understood neither the ultimate cause nor the cure of slavery, but left the matter of its abolishment in such confusion that we may credit them with the creation of the problem we are discussing, and for which no clear solution of their suggestion yet appears after more than a quarter of a century of further study and experience. In fact, the negro was practically abandoned by his so-called friends and left to the tender mercies of his so-called enemies and former masters; and, notwithstanding the masters had insisted that they could frame no theory or system according to which the industries of the South could be conducted on the basis of freedom, both the abolitionists and others at the North abandoned the negro, substantially, to his own devices, after giving him the franchise as the sole and sufficient panacea for all his ills past and to come.

The point I make is that, like the slave-holders, the abolitionists had no practical and just solution to offer, and that they ran away and turned the problem over to others, while claiming credit for a solution that was no solution. Not only was there no recognition by abolition-

ists then that slavery was the product of economic action, but, as many notable examples show, the economic policy* frequently, if not generally, advocated by them before and since the war was exactly that which took away "opportunity," and thereby produced slave conditions in the one case and actually prevented the development of free conditions in the other.

The dominant Southern idea before, during, and for a time after the war was that under emancipation and freedom the negro would certainly perish. Historical facts and evolutionary principles coincide with the proposition that the laborer is the member of society in and through whom that society survives, and that the so-called aristocrat is the man who perishes. If, therefore, the solution of the race problem in the South is the answer to the question, who will survive and eventually rule the region now occupied by the negro, mainly in the black belt, as a mere race contest in the midst of unchanged economic status and action? The only thing left to be said is that the negro will unquestionably survive and possess the land, and the relative status of the two races in that region will eventually be changed in his favor. That is to say, if the industrial and economic conditions that have caused his numerical predominance in that region are to continue, he as their fit product will certainly survive and win; and with him an ethical, intellectual, and social standard of a co-ordinate character, tempered by the limited and inadequate eleemosynary aid of his Northern friends, will also win. For, as these friends are only now beginning to discover, they have labor problems at home at the

* I mean the free-trade policy, and have particularly in mind my friend and pastor Henry Ward Beecher and his immediate followers. Even now that he is dead, I believe that, unless his influence in this direction can be checked and counteracted, far greater injury will come (not only to the ex-slave, so called, but to mankind) than of service from his life and work, great as that service seems to me to have been. I do not undertake to decide the question, but only to raise it for consideration, and this in the interest of his future fame as the ages come and go.

The history of the nomenclature of abolition, itself and alone, sustains, if it does not establish, my view. Primarily and derivatively *abolition* is abolescence, or *growth from* the thing abolished. *Webster* so derives and defines the word. But *The Century Dictionary* distinctly shows the influence and effect of abolitionist philosophy and action during the past fifty years, in the all but complete elimination of the idea of growth from the current definition of the word, and the substitution of ideas purely mechanical and artificial in its place.

The favorite word *emancipation*, defining the abolitionist achievement, completes the demonstration. Whether the release be from the hand of purchase or from that of capture, the expression is entirely and carefully mechanical, and it follows the hard, unyielding Roman law out of which the stiff, wooden system of our present social structure has been largely built, and into which it is one of our objects to somehow breathe the breath of something like life and growth. Abolitionism has, therefore, not only failed to apply the necessary evolutionary principles of growth to the solution of the slavery and race problems, but, in addition to debasing our political methods to the level of the inorganic, has done the same thing for the English language and the nomenclature of the subject, and even for its very name. In other words, abolitionism has betrayed the fundamental principle of its propaganda as expressed in the title it so proudly wears. And as to method, it set the bad example which other reforms are now fatally following because of its supposed success.

North to solve, for which no solution yet appears, that must tax Northern resources to the verge of failure at least. That region will then become substantially only a possibly better Africa, with which American statesmanship must deal on that comparatively low level; for the Southern poor white, although always free politically, has not been able to rise above and out of the characteristic Southern status. Nor will the man of the inferior race be able to do so, as we must conclude when we consider the lesser opportunities he has had here and elsewhere for ages past.

The significant fact mentioned by Prof. Le Conte as to the want of return to him, ever since emancipation, from lands that had supported his ancestors and their slaves for generations, shows at least a tendency toward the disappearance of the white man and his civilization from the black belt first of all.

But does that portion of the United States ultimately belong to the negro through ethnological, climatic, economic, and industrial, or, in other words, through ultimate evolutionary title deeds? That territory was not his original habitat; he was dragged into it by the force of barbarous economic principles and practice. In climate and in almost every other respect it is unlike any other habitat in which unmodified evolutionary law and development have located him. His African home lies between the isothermal lines of 68° F. The black belt lies entirely above and outside of that line and in the climatic home of the white race. That region belongs climatically either to the white man or to one of the other races; primarily to the red race, whose problem is being rapidly decided by extinction, somewhat on the theory of General Sherman—that the only good Indian is a dead Indian. And in so far as the red man had prior title, the white man is his natural heir and successor, and not the black man, notwithstanding the white man, like the black man, belongs to an imported race. As to the future and the right of the negro to continue in dominant occupancy of the South, or any part of it, as before intimated, it depends, I may say, entirely on the highest ideal status of civilization possible of achievement in that region.

As for myself, that question was experimented with and decided on the spot in favor of the white man more than thirty years ago, and the development of evolutionary science and philosophy within that time has furnished a succession of confirmations of the conclusion. After myself working in the field with white men, and also with slaves, I am prepared to say that the only seemingly natural and important obstruction or hindrance to the occupation of that country and to the performance of the necessary labor everywhere for its development by the white man, is, not high temperature, but the presence in many lo-

calities of malaria, to which the white man is only less resistant * than the black man. And it is both a scientific and a historical fact that the malaria is the direct product of a barbarous economic system which produces the land barbarization, and slavery, of which it is a symptom. It has not always been dominant there in the past, and therefore may not continue to be dominant in the future, under a different system. It has increased co-ordinately with slavery.

Does it seem possible or probable that a region of country located so near elevated regions manifestly the natural home of the white man, and the white man of civilization, can belong scientifically and naturally, in this age, to the black man, as its dominant occupier and exploiter?

What then is to be said about the physical degeneracy of Confederate soldiers of those regions who outmarched and outfought Union soldiers so frequently during the war?

What about the lecturer of the evening, president of the leading scientific association of America, a leader in evolutionary study and thought, indeed, in important departments the leader, in America, and known to be such throughout Europe; and, besides, a long list of distinguished names of several generations in the same family? This, too, not an isolated, exceptional instance. Liberty County, Georgia, where he was born and bred, was, many generations since, settled by people from New England, who started from good old Dorchester, Mass., as did the first settlers of Windsor and Hartford, Conn., re-enforced by a strong contingent of Huguenot blood. I venture to say that no purely agricultural county in the United States has produced a greater number of distinguished men than that county. Early in the fifties I became acquainted with a number of its inhabitants, saw many more, and learned their history. Liberty County touches salt water between the Savannah and Altamaha Rivers. It is marked on the map as black as the blackest in the black belt, its oldest town Dorchester. As I saw and knew them, they were large, finely built, red-cheeked, masterful men—more like the original type of New England settler than any other men I ever saw, even in New England.

Of course the uneducated mind accepts what is as what must be; but the mind imbued with evolutionary ideas recognizes it as a fundamental principle that what now is can not continue to be; for, unless progress is made, decline is inevitable. The causes which have barbarized land and the people living on it continuing, through increased soil exhaustion, deeper barbarism is certain to be reached.

* The negro's power of resisting malaria seems to have declined in his new home in the South. I found the chief difference between the two races in the matter of resisting malarial poisons to be that whereas the white man could neither work nor eat, the negro could eat but not work. And in this fact, also, we may find a hint as to survival and eventual lapse into savagery and wilderness if the conditions continue.

There was a time in the early history of the black belt—in its eastern part—before land barbarization had done its work and the slave system had been developed, when malaria did not prevail, and it is only a question of a possible civilized and civilizing method of treating the soil as the result of which malaria may be eliminated. When that method is adopted, the atmospheric temperature of the country will be found not unsuitable or deleterious to the white laborer, and the superior value of the Southern products will give the white man a much greater return for the same labor, as compared with the grain-producing regions of the North. When to the opportunities of the field are added those of the factory, and the manufacture of cotton in or near the place of its production, an enormous increase of white population will certainly take place; and rich as the region is in deposits of phosphates and other marine products, capable as it is of producing enormous crops of vegetable food suitable only for consumption near its place of production, and fit to give the white man physical strength and intellectual force, it certainly may be expected that, even with no removal of the negro as a race, the country will become possessed by the white man in such force and numbers as to place the negro in the same relative position that he occupies at the North. This will keep the political and social power of those regions in the hands of the race occupying the Eastern, Middle, Western, and Pacific States—one and homogeneous, and settle the race question in the South as it has done elsewhere.

Under the exigencies of the war, mechanics were in great demand in the South, and the "black belt," even, became dotted with developing manufacturing enterprises which continued to flourish down to Appomattox day, and under a proper system there is no reason why they should not be revived and become permanent.

It will be impossible on this occasion to even catalogue the forces and principles that will support that movement in civilizing this region when once the corner is turned. The story of the Garden of Eden does not furnish the principal evidence that through degradation man and vegetation suffer together, while thorns and thistles flourish. Science teaches the same lesson. The history of the South confirms it. The barbarization of the land and its people is found to be both coincident and co-ordinate with the deterioration of the fiber of the cotton in length, quality, and value, as the strength of the soil diminishes. When the system is changed and soil enrichment takes the place of soil impoverishment, exactly the opposite will occur, the staple will be increased in length of fiber, improved in quality and quantity, other kinds of plant life will also thrive and improve, and, step by step, the problems of man, society, and the state will be co-

ordinately and coincidently advanced and solved. No such development, however, can occur except with and through an entire abandonment of the old system and an increase of common interest and commercial relations between the farms and shops of the North and the farms and shops of the South, and also between the cities of the North and the cities of the South; in fact, between the two hitherto diverse and antagonistic civilizations. The result of this diversity—which includes diversity of interests—has been war in the past and will inevitably be war in the future, in one form or another, unless a law of harmony is discovered and put in practice. A result of proper increased commercial exchange between the North and the South would be a tendency to check soil exhaustion, effect soil enrichment in both regions, and bring about unity of interests. But a most important and further effect of a dominant white civilization, not only in the upland region of the South but also in the cotton and lowland region, must be the development of increased commercial interchange between the people of these regions and the adjacent peoples of the West Indian, Mexican, Central American, and South American regions, the more accessible and near-by portions, of course, having the advantage, other things being equal. One of our statesmen said, during the San Domingo debate, that republics should "beware of the tropics," referring evidently to the effects of the overmastering power of vegetal growth in preventing or checking the development of man and society. Evolutionary economics clearly points to the gradual movement toward equilibration of agricultural wealth between the lands of the tropic and the temperate zones as the means of benefiting the peoples of both, and therefore to the true basis for a scientific commercial system not only for America but for the world. Such commercial relations will inevitably be beneficial to the West Indies, and must lead to the ending of European domination therein, to more and more affiliation with the people of the United States, and eventually to the furnishing of a market and opportunity for the free black labor of the South to emigrate to the West India Islands, there to find increased reward and a more natural climate, through the increased demand in the near-by South for all sorts and kinds of tropical productions, and a counter-demand in those islands for the productions of all parts of the United States. Under this condition of things there would be a tendency and movement of agricultural products, and the means they furnish for the enrichment of the soil, from the tropical regions of the farther south to the Southern portion of the United States first, and eventually to the Northern portion of the United States.

The history of Florida and its renewed relations with the North and its people since 1865 is an instructive study in this connection.

In 1835 these relations were cut or destroyed by the ruin of the orange groves in that year, the effects of which lasted for thirty years. As the increased crop of Florida fruit has found an increasing market at the North since 1865–'66, Northern people have more and more found occupation and homes in Florida, largely neglecting the intermediate regions that furnish no such products. The same principle will apply on the larger scale, including the West India Islands, in the development of dominant commercial movements on north and south lines substantially at right angles to those of dominant commercial movement under the present system.

This would develop a commerce based on soil enrichment and higher civilization everywhere in the United States, as against a system of commercial interchange based on soil exhaustion and consequent barbarization, as now, under what I may call the English system, although it has become the system of the world. So far as this country is concerned, at least, that system insists and must insist on commercial movements on east and west lines, whereby, through the continually cheapening cost of transportation, our agricultural products are removed forever from the country and exchanged for Brummagim and other wares, which, however they may be disposed of, and whatever may be their value otherwise, certainly can not do much in the way of refertilizing our wheat and grain fields or the cotton fields of the South. Necessary result, the destructive competition of like with like.

Our fathers started out to establish an American continental system in and under which the rights of all men should be respected. Their children have been in the main content to undertake and continue to manage a continent on parochial principles, and these inextricably and intentionally confused by constant and universal European interference. This sufficiently explains the failures of the past and the hopes and possibilities of the future.

There are two ways of stating my position:

1. There is no race question except as we make one through our failure to recognize and apply the scientific principles of an advancing civilization in their land and ethnological relations and implications, working harmoniously to the desired end.

2. The solution of the race question is to be found by giving to each race its own fit habitat and the opportunities belonging to each, in which each race will help others without antagonisms, either political or social, each furnishing a market for the products of the other.

Under a system of this kind, so rich in possibilities is the black-belt region that it could support a population as large as the present population of the United States, of which only a small and unobtrusive fraction would be black, while the West Indies and Central America

would fill up with a black race partly composed of emigrants from the United States constantly growing in civilization through the necessary effects of "opportunity" furnished by a near-by market. It would matter little whether the two races worked under the same flag or not, so long as they worked in peace and prospered through the results of a common interest in a commerce scientifically based on the different natural productions of different soils, climates, and regions. Only a continental system could accomplish such results. A continental system is impossible so long as any part of the continent or of the adjacent islands is occupied and held under European dominion and governed by European ideas, North or South; and here we reach the root of the whole matter. It is not plain piracy and plunder now as formerly, but the European idea is that America must be held in a commercial sense tributary to Europe for the purpose of aiding European governments in governing European peoples on European plans and principles, whatever may become of American governments, peoples, and plans. We have accepted that relation not only as to commerce in goods, but also in the commerce of ideas, which they supply in support of their plans and principles and which we accept and adopt although they attack and overthrow American plans and principles. Not so was it with the fathers. They saw the need if not the opportunity of setting up an independent continental system and elected a Continental Congress to begin with. When their descendants have wisdom enough and force enough to complete the plans of the fathers in a continental system with which Europe is not allowed to injuriously interfere, then we shall find solutions not only for race problems, but for many other problems that are now not much less vexing and obscure. When that day comes there will be no fine questions to discuss as to the effects of the mixing of races and race contacts, because there will be a common and universal interest in keeping the races pure and unmixed until at least an equal culture, wealth, and social status shall remove the natural and beneficent race prejudice—if they ever do. Independent race improvement for each in its own natural habitat may then proceed in an orderly and peaceful manner, the combative instincts of men being directed to the subduing or at least training and using the forces of Nature as the true policy of progress. Freedom from European commercial and economic interference is the most important factor in the solution of this as of many other problems.

If Europe and European methods and ideas could be persuaded or forced to let go their deadly grip on the people of all outlying countries of the world, it is by no means impossible that something more than a destiny of destruction might be found for the so-called lower

races of other types without intermixture of blood or absorption even.

Necessarily, in the presence of such a solution the political and associated moral difficulties of the problem would largely disappear.

Here, as throughout, the key to the situation is justice. Justice between men, and justice—or obedience to the law of right—toward land in its broadest interpretation, failing which the land has its own slow but sure system of punishment for wrong-doers.

But injustice to land and to the negro is not the only injustice that has had to do with the creation of this question. There is, in fact, another question of race or part of a race still more obscure than the negro race question, upon which the solution of the latter absolutely depends. In spite of slavery and the conditions in which it flourished, a distinct type of men had been developed there which naturally affiliated with the peoples of the North to a marked degree in their ideas and aspirations about freedom, union, and related topics. These men doubted the beneficence of slavery and would have been glad to join the North in some reasonable plan for getting rid of it. Singularly enough, no discussions note or explain the total absence of this one important factor in the solution. In nearly all the seceding States Union men were in the majority in 1860. These Union men were not only the natural allies and friends of the Union before the war, but they were also the natural leaders of reconstruction and the natural friends, teachers, and leaders of the negro in his induction into political opportunity and the new status. They seem to have disappeared from the face of the earth as effectually as the ten tribes of Israel, all in one generation, leaving no sign. What happened to them and what has become of them? Having clearly seen the opportunity they were possibly to have after the war, as early as the fall of 1860, having been one of them myself, having been an observant witness of the deep damnation of their taking off, and having done my best to prevent it at the time, there is a certain duty of explanation laid upon me.

In some minds before the election, and in many within forty-eight hours after it, the great and urgent questions were: If we have separation in peace, what will be the status and fate of Union men? If secession is followed by war, what? Between the upper and nether mill-stones of the contention, how are we and our rights to fare? And when it is all over, who is to rule in these Southern States and who is to be ruined, the Secessionist or the Unionist, especially if the Union conquers? Will not the Government ignore us, make terms with their enemies and ours after the war, and put us under their heels forever? These were the supreme questions to the Southern Unionist.

It was at once seen by myself and many others that England, repre-

senting herself and foreign interests in general, would probably exercise as much influence in settling our fate and that of the negro as either the Confederacy or the United States, perhaps more—and more it turned out to be.

International law and the laws of war have been established by governments of the imperial order and conform to their interests and principles; and against them we seem to have no courage to protest. In that system whatever the king does every one of his subjects constructively does and may be held responsible for accordingly by the king of the nation with which their king may be at war. But American citizens never were subjects of any king. They were and are sovereigns, each in his own right. How, then, could any man or combination of men, minority or majority, by setting up a State or Confederate government in rebellion and committing treason for themselves, also commit treason and work forfeiture of rights of any kind—property, life, franchise, representation, protection of every kind—for any other citizen and sovereign, and especially for a Union citizen who opposed them with all the powers the Government placed in his hands, and more besides, when even the Government itself was powerless to prevent rebellion and treason by any means at its command?

Starting from this foundation during the winter of 1860-'61, I personally originated and worked out a plan for the protection of the Southern Unionist and to enable him to aid the United States in putting down rebellion, preserving the State autonomy in himself and his class, taking in hand the management of the States in reconstruction, and generally showing the South how to enter upon the new civilization of freedom, peace, and Union after the war. It included a plan to enable the Government to separate the sheep from the goats when the day of victory and judgment should come.

My plan rested upon the claim that, unless forfeited by some act of the individual, the right of representation in Congress remained to the Union man of the South; that no rights of the Unionist could be forfeited by residence within the States in which rebellious citizens had attempted to establish a new State government or a new general government, not even when *de facto* successful in that attempt; and that the property of Union men was protected by the Constitution and could not be confiscated for constructive treason even when running the blockade outward, especially if done in obedience to a proclamation of the President calling upon Southern citizens to withdraw themselves and refrain from aiding and abetting treason and rebellion. Two months or more were spent in Washington during June, July, and August, 1861, in pressing these and related points upon the attention of the executive, legislative, and judicial departments of the Gov-

ernment. Among those personally approached were Mr. Lincoln, Thad. Stevens, Judge Wayne, Senator Ira Harris, of New York, and Mr. Dawes, of Massachusetts, the latter occupying the controlling position of chairman of the Committee on Elections of the House. The first four were prompt to see the importance of the suggestions made, and Mr. Stevens, then chairman of the Committee of Ways and Means, embodied the suggestion to put a tax on cotton, intended to act practically like an export duty, which was subsequently declared unconstitutional after some seventy-five millions had been collected, which still remain in the United States Treasury. Mr. Dawes (looking at the matter with the eyes of parochial statesmanship) saw a deep-laid plot of treason in giving Southern Unionists their right of representation even for the purpose of keeping the South divided into two parties, one for and the other against the Government, and used his influence on the floor of the House and elsewhere to prevent it.

Others besides myself were urging the same policy for similar reasons; but Union representation from seceded States was denied and the Union elements were abandoned to their fate, many of them to be forced to co-operate with the secession elements, however unwillingly, thereby practically uniting the South in the compact body which resisted so long and cost so much to conquer.

The fatal influence that produced this result was that of the English Government, with its watchful eyes on the blockade and Southern trade and its policy of embarrassment in order to make the rebellion successful. It became evident that if Southern Unionists were represented in Congress, British ships would insist on entering Southern ports in order to trade with the Southern people, on the theory that under a *de facto* government all or none were in rebellion. That is to say, the commercial system which resulted in slavery and rebellion through soil exhaustion had established relations that made or seemed to make it the interest of England to destroy the Union and the Union people of the South. The same relations still continue and furnish one of the great obstacles to the solution of our race and other problems.

The consequence was that, in spite of the fundamental principles of justice and without voluntary acts of treason on which to justify the treatment, the United States in all its departments—executive, judicial, and legislative—treated its friends, the Union men in the South, as just as guilty as its enemies, emancipating their slaves without compensation, confiscating their property as that of public enemies, taking away their right of representation, and finally, without making the slightest distinction between friends and foes, tendering to those who had never committed treason an amnesty oath, in which without

charge, trial, jury, or benefit of clergy even, they were made to confess treason and surrender all political rights and all property rights over twenty thousand dollars in value, as the sole condition and only means whereby they could take their letters from the post-office, do any business whatever, or continue to live in the South; and this amnesty oath was to be and was filed in the State Department at Washington, there to be held as proof in all coming time of crime against the Government, whether any such crime had ever been committed by the individual signing it or not. Even discharged soldiers and officers of the Union army who helped to put down the rebellion and had the proof of wounds on their bodies and of their discharges in their pockets were compelled to take the same oath. Indeed, it is quite possible, I believe certain, that the Government is now paying pensions to men whose amnesty oaths confessing treason are at this moment on file in the State Department. Such are the travesties of governmental administration and justice.

This was the treatment, in outline, that destroyed Unionism in the South and deprived the emancipated slave of his natural and native friend, and also the Government itself.

I was one of ten persons summoned, by suggestion from Washington, to meet for the purpose of organizing the Republican party in the State of Georgia under the provisional Governor appointed by President Johnson—with a view to the election of the first State officers and a legislature. We had one meeting and adjourned *sine die*. There was no other course to pursue. No Republican party was then organized. The secession element, after slight surprise and hesitation and finally amusement over the preposterous folly of the Government policy, took the amnesty oath, elected their sort to office, and started in at once to nullify the results of the war. Why not?

At this point Congress stepped in, gave the negro political rights, the secession elements retired, the Union elements existed no longer —had been destroyed by the Government's own acts—and the only element left was the famous carpet-bag contingent, the fit survival of the fittest out of all this combined burlesque and travesty of statesmanship.

Under such auspices as these did the solution of the race and other Southern problems commence. Should we wonder at the results we have seen and now see? The United States Government, that for which the North was and is responsible, destroyed first the Union, and then the Disunion party of the South, leaving the field to transients. The carpet-bagger, who practically did all the work of restoration, has been blamed for all the blunders and crimes of the period, and his fate at the hands of the historians we may anticipate. But in fact he is

only a convenient and somewhat amusing scarecrow in the Southern corn-field, rigged out in the tattered and torn mistakes and misfits of both sides to the original controversy. Neither side knowing what to do with the negro, then as now, and not offering to do anything, pretty much all the fault has been heaped upon him for doing something, all that was done, the best he knew of what to do. His answer to all the charges is most complete and sufficient. Like other scarecrows, of other corn-fields, he has been found capable of enduring all the storms and peltings that have fallen upon him, in silence, without giving any sign of any attempt at self-defense. This tactics on his part is sure to tire out his enemies eventually; and then will come their season for self-investigation, and the investigation of the race problem on its own separate and independent merits. Not forever will the real culprits, North and South, be able to unload their own faults and crimes upon the back of the wretched carpet-bagger.*

The significant fact remains as a perpetual lesson, that whereas before the war the whites were divided into two political parties, one of them favoring the Union and frequently in the majority, there is now, as the result of the insane injustice of the Government itself, practically but one party, which no "force bill" and no standing army can ever divide, because neither of them can touch the cause of that unity, but must instead substitute aggravation for remedy. A necessary preliminary to the solution of the negro race question in the South is the resurrection of the Union type of men in something like the old proportions by the sustained development of an economic policy that will permit such men to live and prosper there. That policy is the necessary policy of a higher civilization which has in it the energy to meet and overcome the policy of barbarization in the struggle for survival.

There is but one remedy—the establishment of the conditions of freedom and race co-operative unity. To establish these the United States must take the control of the interests of its own people at the

* But the carpet-bagger robbed the South, they say. Well, I am afraid he did. Doubtless when he saw shipwreck ahead he grabbed what he could lay hands on and got ashore, or North, the best way he could. But I venture to say, in all seriousness, and out of abundant opportunity of knowledge, that for every dollar he stole from the South, the South stole ten from him at least. Prof. Le Conte mentions the quick recuperation of the South after the war, notwithstanding the disorganization of labor. Largely the money of the carpet-bagger did it. Money was then abundant. Crowds of men went South to invest it and help rebuild on the new foundations. The chances are that ninety-nine out of every hundred dollars of that money was permanently invested there, and that the remaining dollar better represents what the carpet-bagger managed to get away with. Public clamor, and especially political public clamor, always makes such "ducks and drakes" of truth and fact. As for myself, I saw the thing coming and carpet-bagged out of the South before the negro *régime* began, impelled by unspeakable sorrow and disgust over the impending fiasco. But I know the history of hundreds of others, and I know of none who brought away more than a small fraction of what they took there. I further know of very many who never got away with their lives even, much less with their money.

bottom by breaking the hold of English commercial policy upon those interests, through some system of protection for the South against soil exhaustion and the removal of the "opportunities" of freedom, and this on some comprehensive continental plan, either of war or peace, or both, that shall eliminate English political, military, and commercial dominion from this continent and from all the adjacent islands.

It has been said by economists that if all the personal property of a civilized community should be destroyed, about three years' labor would furnish the means of restoration. The destruction of property in slaves by emancipation was not as disastrous as expected, in part because labor thereby became free to move, and did in part move, to more productive lands, thereby speeding recuperation, only to repeat the same old round of land destruction, however. But, under a system permitting soil enrichment from year to year, the capital in buildings, fences, and other improvements would be saved, and also that required to pay for new improvements on new lands, while the accompanying improved agriculture would require and develop superior intelligence and growing morality in the labor employed. This is the true line of march out of slavery into freedom, as also into freedom from race antagonisms.

Precisely here are to be found the origin and remedy of the unexpected race problems with which the North is beginning to be afflicted. A policy of soil exhaustion under the control of unchecked transportation interests and action on behalf of the owners and manipulators of railroads must create a demand for and assist the supply of an ever-deteriorating class of laborers, constantly lowering the standard of American citizenship everywhere. An opposite policy would have an opposite effect upon that standard, and would have a further effect to check the current tendency to railroad wrecking, trusteeships, reorganization, and general decline in value. It would also check the spirit of railroad conflict, competition, and homicide. Relief of race problems by education and improved morality depends upon increased return for labor, better wages. Cause and effect are found on both sides of the equation, but still the destruction of the poor is everywhere their poverty. The wages of workers are to society what food is to the body—they enrich, strengthen, and make healthy the life-blood of the social organism.

In these propositions will be found the answer to the question of Prof. Le Conte: "What is the best next step?" And all the answers may be summed up in a universal policy of land protection—protection against land destruction by the insidious effects of both foreign and domestic policies that rob the American worker of the material things on and by which alone his work can be employed, expended,

and made fruitful. To accomplish this the continent must be surveyed, and out of its diversities a consistent continental policy of unity and harmony framed, adopted, put in practice, guarded against foreign and domestic interference; these steps to be repeated as often as enlightened progress may demand and permit.

The history of the rebellion, its antecedents and sequences, is so full of studies and instruction for the evolutionary sociologist, and this opportunity is so unique and little likely to be repeated, that one who was a witness with eyes wide open is loath to drop the subject. Let me refer briefly to one or two more points.

I have said elsewhere, substantially: Secession never won in the South until it appeared at last that the new autonomy would furnish opportunity to the young men of the South in the army and navy of the Confederacy. The new autonomy was the result of what naturalists know as propagation by fission, which takes place when the organism can no longer supply itself with the necessary amount of food. It might be called propagation by starvation or by poverty, and its application here would be more apparent by the use of either of these terms.

Now, portions of the Northern States are at this moment unconsciously getting ready for splitting up, propagating by fission, for the same reasons. New England, having exhausted its soil and other natural resources, is beginning to demand free trade, in order to obtain cheap Nova Scotia coal and hold her manufacturing enterprises. Meantime Quebec has largely annexed New England by sending over four hundred thousand French Canadians there, who propose to appropriate and control the whole of it through the effects of another form of propagation—the natural one—raised to the highest power under skillful priestly direction. Here we have the almost complete conditions for the formation of a new confederacy or dominion, including Quebec, New England, and that portion of the Dominion lying east of the St. Lawrence. Meanwhile our Protestant priesthood are squabbling over creeds and higher criticism, sacrificing birthright for pottage again.

Further, the combination of Union States was always wasp-waisted at or about the region of Ohio. But for the strong breed of New Englanders who first settled the northern part of that State, and the necessities of east and west commercial movement, a point for another fission might have been found there long since. When this east and west movement begins to decline, as it must before long, if it has not done so already, another danger spot, with or without a danger signal, will be found in Ohio. Further study would show other danger spots, if opportunity permitted.

What our fathers called Providence, and we may call evolution-

ary protection, or provision by compulsion—the necessity of raising revenue by taxing the foreigner through an export duty—put into the Confederate constitution the means for destroying slavery by slow evolutionary action, and for building up a strong and prosperous people. This means the success of Union arms destroyed. It is for us to take a lesson out of the same book. When we have done so, and enlarged the teaching to cover a continental system, we may flatter ourselves that we have begun to solve our race problems, and many other equally important problems; and not till then.

DR. LEWIS G. JANES:

I wish to correct what I think might be a false impression from the criticism of Mr. Skilton on the action of the abolitionists in disbanding their organization after the war. As I was brought up after the strictest sect of the abolitionists, and read the discussions in their papers when this action was taken, I think I can speak with authority concerning their motives. They did not consider that their work was done—that they had no further obligation to help the colored people, as Mr. Skilton assumes. But they found themselves then in substantial agreement with a large section—more than half—of their fellow-countrymen. It seemed to them that they could exercise a wider influence, and do better and more effective work for the colored man, by breaking down the barrier of their exclusive organization and joining hands with all those who were working for the same ends. Whether they were right or not I will not argue; but I believe the truth of history will recognize the purity of their motives, and their life-long devotion, as individuals and citizens, to the welfare of the colored race. I know personally that many of them had a wiser foresight of the difficulties succeeding emancipation than most of their Northern fellow-citizens. Many of them have since devoted years of faithful service to the education and improvement of the freedmen. Without arguing the question, I must also dissent from his policy of expatriating the colored people, which it clearly seems to me would result, not in their civilization, but in their relapse into utter barbarism, as in San Domingo.

PROF. LE CONTE, in closing: At this late hour I will not detain the audience by further remarks. I desire merely to extend my thanks to the audience for their courteous attention, and especially to express my great interest and general agreement with the remarks of Mr. Skilton. It appears to me, speaking off-hand and under the impulse of my present feeling, that he has indicated very nearly the true solution of this problem.

EDUCATION AS RELATED TO CITIZENSHIP

BY

REV. JOHN W. CHADWICK

AUTHOR OF THE BIBLE OF TO-DAY, CHARLES DARWIN, EVOLUTION AS RELATED TO RELIGIOUS THOUGHT, ETC.

COLLATERAL READINGS SUGGESTED:

Spencer's Education, Justice, and Introduction to A Plea for Liberty; Alford's *Free Education*, in A Plea for Liberty; Craik's The State and Education; Fiske's Civil Government in the United States; Mowry's Studies in Civil Government; Dr. Mott's Intellectual Evolution in its Relation to Physiological Dissolution; Bryant's Educational Ends; Peaslee's Moral and Literary Training in Public Schools; Leland's Practical Education; Béesan's The Spirit of Education; Henderson's Thomas Jefferson's Views on Public Education; Horace Mann's Lectures on Education; Jacob Abbott's The Teacher; Trenholm's *Moral Principle in Public Affairs*, in The Forum, vol. v, p. 545; Bishop Potter's *The Scholar in Politics*, in The Forum, vol. vii (1889), p. 467; Dwight's *Education in Boyhood*, in The Forum, vol. ix, p. 133.

EDUCATION AS RELATED TO CITIZENSHIP.

By Rev. John W. Chadwick.

Citizenship is that part of civilization which concerns men and women in their relation to the state. The relation of education to citizenship is foreshadowed by the general course of history even in those primitive forms which have in them very little of those honors and responsibilities which the term citizenship suggests to the modern mind. There must be nations before there can be citizens, and nations are "*like* bodies of men, because of their *likeness* capable of acting together and obeying similar rules." The process by which these bodies are formed is not less educational because it has not the incidents of the school-house, the text-book, the formal teacher, and so on. It is the most interesting paradox of political history that what was most necessary to be done in the first stage of that history was most necessary to be undone in the second. In the first a rule, a law, a custom—Mr. Bagehot's "cake of custom"—must be formed, and formed so hard that it can not easily be broken; in the second it must somehow be broken or there is no further progress possible. The first necessity is as imperative as the embryonic chicken's shell, the second hardly less important than the breaking of that shell; for that people's life in which it remains unbroken is, at best, a living death. As for the principal ingredient of the original "cake of custom," I doubt not Bagehot was right in his opinion that it was of a piece with that same imitativeness which makes all the writers for a great journal write like its strongest man. As to the breaking of the "cake" which was essential to the second stage of civilization, we shall all agree that wars between nation and nation had a great deal to do with it. The doctrine that "every man is a rascal who speaks two languages" thus got a sharp rebuff. The number of rascals of this sort was greatly multiplied. Conquering races imposed their religious and political ideas on the conquered races or they went to school to these: this oftener than the other, when it was brute strength that conquered. But generally it was not so, and here we have a

proof that even in those times when war seemed to decide everything, war was itself a rude measure of degrees of intellectual and moral education. It was the intellectual and moral races that had most success in war. Then, too, war facilitated that exchange of ideas which is carried on by international literature and travel in the modern world. Douglas Jerrold—or was it Heine?—explained the insipidity of his talk on one occasion by saying that he had just been *exchanging ideas* with So-and-so, a person remarkable for his stupidity; but the "exchange of ideas at the cannon's mouth" or at the point of spears has often been a mutual advantage.

But war was not the only nor the most invincible iconoclast that broke the images of ancient custom into fragments and beat them into dust. There was another which, compared with war, took down those images so tenderly from their shrines as almost to do them reverence. (I trust you recognize the variant phrase). It was the era of discussion, the necessity of a free state, first necessary for its origin and then for its perpetuation. To think upon these lines and not in Bagehot's tracks is quite impossible. "Once effectually submit a subject," he says, "to the ordeal of discussion, and you can never withdraw it again; you can never clothe it again with mystery or fence it by consecration; it remains forever open to free choice and exposed to profane deliberation." And "the only subjects which till a very late age of civilization can be submitted to discussion in the community are the questions involving the visible and pressing interests of the community; they are political questions of high and urgent import."

We have a capital illustration of this in Athens at the height of her renown. Read Aristotle's newly discovered Constitution of Athens and see how modern it is. It might have been written yesterday by one of our gravest statesmen; it could not be written to-day by some of their successors, men without culture, without ideas, without convictions, without anything but gold—or brass. But this treatise was written for a community in which just before its noble Socrates, its wisest man, had condemned the study of physics as impious and absurd. Political discussion is the necessity of a free state. That is its father's name and that the name which all its children bear, like Mary's lodged somewhere in every Spanish girl's. But political discussion to be intelligent and fruitful means at least an educated

class which either steadily augments itself or in "times that try men's souls" is rapidly enlarged. Nothing is more educational than a great public question everywhere discussed. At the high tide of the antislavery conflict I was a shoemaker in a little shop with eight or ten others. There was no aspect of that conflict which escaped our interest. Sometimes one read, the others making good his loss of time, his voice raised high to drown the hammering. I have since mingled with no casual group of men having a political consciousness more intense than theirs, or better qualified to discuss the leading topics of the hour.

Given as your form of government an autocracy, a despotism—no matter how paternal—an absolute monarchy, and the relation of education to citizenship is not a practical question. Under such a government, properly speaking, there is no such thing as citizenship. To be the inhabitant of a country, the subject of a governing person or class, the payer of taxes levied without his consent, does not make a man a citizen. To be a citizen he must have a share in the government; and the hostility of all narrow forms of government to education was a well-founded intuition. It expressed itself in the adage, "If a horse knew as much as a man, I would not be his rider"; and he would be quite as unsafe for several to ride as one, which means that an oligarchy or an aristocracy has as little interest in the general education of the community as an autocracy, a monarchy. It has an interest to maximize its deficiencies and minimize its range.

But it stands to reason that, given a republican and democratic form of government, "Government *of* the people, *for* the people, *by* the people," as Theodore Parker defined it—so admirably that Abraham Lincoln could not improve the definition—and the more general intelligence you have the better; and general intelligence without general education will probably be discovered on the same day with perpetual motion and the philosopher's stone. Under any of the narrower forms of government you can have plenty of government *of* the people, and the less education of them the better—for the government. Government *for* the people also you may have in abundance if the government is sufficiently paternal. The benevolent despot will make sure of that, for *panem et circences* the dear people shall not lack; but of education as citizens which they are not they will have no need. Nor does a republican form of government *as*

such require the general education of the people. It requires an education as wide as the basis of representation, which may be very narrow and the government still be as republican as ours; but given a republican and democratic form of government, government of the people, for the people, by the people—self-government—and the education of the entire body politic is an imperative necessity, for that is no true government by the people in which they cast their votes in flocks and herds at the dictation of a party demagogue or local boss. That is government by demagogue and boss. It is a sheer waste of railroad passes and good liquor to have such a nominating convention as we had in Albany a few weeks ago. The statesman whom a cruel wag has called "Young Chicory" might just as well have nominated himself unanimously and presented himself with an address expressive of his many great and valuable services to himself, and have responded briefly "I am a Democrat," as to have gone through all the forms of a representative assembly which represented nothing but a foregone conclusion.

Government *by* the people is impossible without popular intelligence, and popular intelligence is impossible without popular education. I know how much there is in the practical working of our institutions that does not seem to harmonize with these self-evident propositions. I know that practically the political appeal is often to men's prejudice and ignorance; not to their intelligence and their knowledge. I know that while theoretically votes are necessary for success, practically there is an infinite contempt for them in the conduct of many party organs and the making of many party speeches. Better than votes, better than party victory, is the sweet and solemn satisfaction of paying off old scores, of insulting those who wisely or mistakenly have followed the dictates of their own reason and conscience, of digesting the venom of the writers' spleen though it do split them and their party too. But the understanding implicit in every great political contest is that every citizen is an independent voter, to be addressed as such, while explicitly the independent voter is *anathema maranatha*, which is, "double damned." The logic of the whole treatment of independency by the party organs and the partisan bigot is that all the organization and the output of a great political campaign, all the liberal contributions of disinterested friends to the campaign fund, and all the arguments and eloquence of great assemblies, are to maintain the *status*

quo, to prevent any Republican or Democrat from going over from one side to the other. But such logic is absolutely at variance with the actual intention of these things, which is to get as many citizens as possible to break from their habitual allegiance and take the other side. And who shall say that this intention is an intention to corrupt the individual citizen, to make him an object of contempt, a by-word and a hissing in the land? No; it is an intention which does him honor, which implies that independency is the normal condition and the indefeasible right of every citizen of a free government, and that John Adams builded better than he knew when, dying on the same day with Thomas Jefferson, he faintly cried with his last breath: "Independence forever."

There is no way in which the survival of the savage in the modern man can more manifestly attest itself than by the imitation of a party leader without the exercise of deliberate intelligence. Some traveler tells us of a company of savages trailing along after their chief, when suddenly he fell into a hole, and what did the others but go and do likewise—every mother's son of them—just because he had done it! You say, "What fools!" But there are just as foolish in our modern politics, and the holes into which the party braves follow their leaders sometimes communicate by swift descent with sewage of no special and superior kind.

Universal suffrage without universal independency and universal education is a delusion and a snare. The political canvass is an appeal to individual and general intelligence, or it is a pretense and a fraud. For the shortcomings of universal suffrage which we are sometimes conscious of we endeavor to console ourselves with the reflection that the ballot is educational *per se*. It is to some extent; in some campaigns considerably; in others not at all. There are those who would abate the evil by limitations of the suffrage. That is the coward's way. And it is absolutely impracticable. "Even the gods can not resume their gifts." Universal suffrage has come to stay as much as the Copernican astronomy, and we may as well adjust ourselves to the one thing as to the other. "We must educate our masters," said the British Tories when they stole the Liberals' thunder and made a great extension of the suffrage in 1867. That saying has no place on this side of the water. We have no masters here. If we say "We must educate our masters," it means that we must educate ourselves. We must.

Republican Democracy means self-mastery and it means education universally diffused, or rascal politics and the ruin of the commonwealth. To trust to the educational quality of the ballot is blind or, what is worse, deliberate fatuity. That quality can not inhere in a general poverty of mind. Let the voter be at the outset educated and intelligent and he may appreciate the issues of a great campaign, and it may carry him to heights that have a more extended view. If he is grossly ignorant he will catch up the war cries of the hour and shout them with no more appreciation of their meaning than the dull fish of the Atlantic have of the telegraphic messages which thrill its sunless deeps.

The popular vote means popular education. And how is this to be obtained? To ask this question here in America is an opening of the morgue, as the ungodly say, hardly less wasteful of our energy than to reopen the question of universal suffrage. There comes along occasionally a doubter of the Newtonian gravitation; but it is hard for him to get a respectful hearing for his doubts. It would be almost as difficult for the doubter of the public-school system to get a hearing for his doubts were it not for the bias of sectarian religiousness upon the matter. The statistics of education in the United States, as they can be gathered from the first report of the National Commissioner of Education, which was published only a few months ago, are convincing of the wide acceptance of the public-school system and the liberal appropriation of such advantages as it has to give. "The total number of pupils enrolled in the schools of all grades in all the States for the year ending June 30, 1889, was 13,726,574. In this number is not included the attendance on evening schools or schools for art, manual and industrial training, trades, business, or schools for the defective, dependent, and delinquent classes, or schools for Indians." These aggregated 228,280 more. Now, of children from six to twenty years of age there were in the United States, that year, 20,700,000, so that there was an actual attendance of sixty-seven per cent of all these and ninety per cent of all those from six to sixteen, inclusive, the inferior limits of the school-going period; an admirable showing. Of the 13,726,574 in all the schools, 12,291,259 were in the common schools, 1,435,315 in those of a private and parochial character. These figures measure the appreciation of the common-school system by the people of the United States. They show that it is very general. There are others which show

that it is very warm. From 1870 to 1889 the value of public-school property increased from $130,000,000 to $323,000,000—more than twice as fast as the population; while the annual expenditure rose in the same time from $63,000,000 to $132,000,000—$2.16 per capita for every person young or old, $16.51 for every pupil in attendance in the public schools. It has been said of Gladstone that he can make figures sing. It seems to me that of their own free motion these figures sing and dance for joy. I should have said that the amount per capita in the Southern States nearly doubled in the period we are considering.

That we have in these statistics not a matter for congratulation but one for serious apprehension and regret is, we are all aware, the opinion of a considerable class in the United States. "We are all socialists now," says Sir William Vernon Harcourt; but it is clear that we are not. Mr. Herbert Spencer may not have as many followers in dread of over-legislation and "the new tyranny" as he has in his doctrine of evolution, but he has many, and some of them are men of great ability. Witness the volume called A Plea for Liberty—the work of several hands. In this country the teachings of Emerson, and of the transcendentalists generally, so jealous of the inroads of the state and of society upon the individual life, nourished a dread of social interference which has not yet spent its force. But we are all socialists to a much greater degree than we imagine till we are reminded of the extent of our unconscious socialism by some antisocialist or some sober second thought in our own breasts. We are all socialists in the paving, lighting, and cleaning of our city streets, and the system often works so badly, especially in the cleaning part, that individual effort has to be invoked to better the condition. We are socialists in the care of our highways, and annually each country-side beholds a "slaughter of the innocents" that breaks the heart of every man who loves the goodly trees. But that is because the socialism is poor and bad, or because there is not enough of it; not enough intelligent control to stay the spoiler's hand. We are also socialists in our postal and coast service systems, in both of which Mr. Spencer thinks we should do better under private management, as do not I, especially so long as private criticism can be brought to bear on the defects of our socialistic methods. We are socialists, again, in our protective tariff, industrial socialists—socialists in that department where socialism is

most difficult to work, unless it be objected that socialism is a method that considers the good of all and not the benefit of a special class to the detriment of others, as some think protection does; though it must be conceded that it does not so appear to many of its ablest and most ardent advocates, wherein I can not follow them with equal steps. To the amount of socialism we already have upon us, some, who are by no means bitten by the socialistic idea as an ideal scheme of life, would add the railroad system and the telegraphic, and one's personal experience with the delays of the latter and the high temperature and stoviness of winter trains is apt to make him feel that any change would be an improvement. Only remember Mr. Emerson's general truth which has many special applications: "When there is rot in the potato, what is the use of having larger crops?" When there is rot in the civil service, what is the use of having more civil offices? No more till we have checked the rot!

In this wide range of unacknowledged socialism the common school holds a conspicuous and, in the eyes of many, the most honored place. Those who are convinced that the anarchic theory of society is the true theory will not hold it guiltless of complicity in the defects belonging to its class. Those who are convinced that the socialistic theory of society is the true theory will infer the advisability of the common-school system from the ideal excellence of the general system of which it is a part. But if the Sabbath was made for man and not man for the Sabbath, and if the same is true of every social institution, then we shall not permit our theories, one way or the other, to determine how much or how little socialism we shall admit into our body politic. We shall prefer the life of the patient to the beauty of the operation every time, and take and leave so much of the socialistic method in the post-office, tariff, highway, railway, telegraph, or common school, as seems, to the best of our judgment, knowledge, and belief, to be for the greatest good of the greatest number, though all the theories in creation go to everlasting wreck. "Gray, my dear friend," said the wise Goethe, "is all theory, and green the shining tree of life."

"The end of government is the good of mankind." It was John Locke who said it, and a better end has yet to be suggested or devised. If that end can be attained by reducing government to a police force, preventing mutual interference, or by going one step further and abolishing the

police force in favor of complete and universal anarchy, let it be so attained. I leave the post-office and the tariff and the railroads and the telegraph for others to consider. As for education, I am convinced that America has not chosen the wrong road, and that she is not being followed by Great Britain and the countries of Continental Europe to their hurt and shame. Government *by* the people demands universal education, and that this can not be trusted to the individual impulses and tastes of the community is made evident by a wide experience of the methods and results which have signalized the voluntary system. It is no socialistic dreamer; it is the hard-headed Huxley, as jealous of any real infringement of the rights of individuals as Spencer himself, who says: "If the positive advancement of the peace, wealth, and the intellectual and moral development of its members are objects which the Government, as the representative of the corporate authority of society, may justly strive after, in fulfillment of its end—the good of mankind—then it is clear that the Government may undertake to educate the people. For education promotes peace by teaching men the realities of life and the obligations which are involved in the very existence of society; it promotes intellectual development, not only by training the individual intellect, but by sifting out from the masses of ordinary and inferior capacities those which are competent to increase the general welfare by occupying higher positions; and, lastly, it promotes morality and refinement by teaching men to discipline themselves, and by leading them to see that the highest, as it is the only permanent, content is to be attained not by groveling in the rank and steaming valleys of sense, but by continual striving toward those high peaks where, resting in eternal calm, reason discerns the undefined but bright ideal of the highest good—a cloud by day, a pillar of fire by night." If it be objected to this lofty justification of public education that it is the higher education which Professor Huxley has in mind, I can only say that no one is likely to defend the public institution of the higher education without *a fortiori* defending the public institution of the lower. Natural selection and the survival of the fittest demand a favorable environment here as elsewhere for the ideal varieties. Boys must not "uncommended die" who, if they had an elementary education, would certainly discover aptitudes for higher and the highest things. Public education is a sower who goes forth to sow.

Some of his seed falls by the wayside. Some of it among thorns. But some falls on good ground, and the chance of that is quite enough to justify the whole expense. Yet over and above the best varieties which it preserves to satisfy the hunger of mankind, it nourishes millions of growths which have their humbler value in the great economy of God.

If the population of the United States were homogeneous—either Protestant or Catholic—the perpetuity of our public-school system would not have much to fear from the theoretic anarchist. But he has an ally much stronger than himself in the Roman Catholic assault upon our public schools as irreligious or as unreligious and unmoral; which, too, has an ally in the sentiment of justice which has led many Protestants, especially the more liberal, to conclude that there is no way of doing justice to the Catholics in a system of public education, and that the only way out of the muddle is to abolish the common schools and let chaos come again, trusting that some better cosmos may emerge in time. For it is evident that to secularize the schools is for the Romanist a consummation as little to be wished as the reading of the Protestant Bible. If secularization would satisfy him, the way out ought to be simple. Our national Government is a purely secular institution, and though in several of the State governments there are lurking vestiges of the old relation between Church and State, it is our national Government that furnishes the home to which all the practical dealings of the several States would do well to conform; and that home is the "soul liberty" to which Cotton and Winthrop for all their nobleness had not attained, but which Roger Williams set in the forefront of our civilization to guide us for all time. I trust that there will come a time when the Bible shall so take its rightful place at the head of the world's literature that it may be read—wisely selected portions of it—in our public schools without fear and without reproach. Why even now may there not be "local option" in the matter? Where a community can have it without protest there let it be. The liberal, the radical, would be truer to his principles, I think, in welcoming such local option than in joining hands with the Roman Catholic objector; and if in public assemblies the majority prefer an opening prayer, why should the liberal object, or to the Thanksgiving proclamation? I love "these roots that feed upon the past," and, if I did not, I should not wish to prevent others from enjoying their sweet

taste. Think, too, what an opportunity the clergyman in opposition misses who is no longer expected to read that proclamation with its closing formula which made almost the happiest moment of the year for my young heart. To one debarred from "preaching politics," how expressive might that formula become! Thus, for example, "David B. Hill, Governor. God save the commonwealth of New York!" But these are lesser things. In all seriousness, an ounce of mother-wit is worth a pound of clergy in these things, and will outweigh their scruples. Time was, I might have added, "and their drams"; but that is past. In all our smaller towns and villages a little common sense will generally set the matter right. Roman Catholic children can come a little later in the morning, after the Bible has been read, or some hour during the week they may be let off to receive parochial instruction. In our great cities, I need hardly say, these makeshifts do not count. There, when the Roman Catholic demand is made either for a per capita portion of the school fund or exemption from taxation in that proportion which the school tax bears to the general tax, the Protestant part of the community should be prepared at once to make the required concession or to make the schools so absolutely secular that the objectors' occupation will be gone. As against anything less absolute the Roman Catholics have a perfect right to the concession they demand—part of the school fund, or proportionate exemption from taxation. Make your religion ever so little Protestant short of absolute secularization, and you make the Roman Catholic a present of the war-cry of the Revolution: "Taxation without representation is tyranny." You tax him and he can not conscientiously be represented in our public schools. That is a ground you never can maintain, and consequently every little while we hear of some more sensible or conscientious person who says: "The Roman Catholics are right. They must have their share of the school fund or their school taxes must be remitted." Yes, till we secularize our schools. Forever and ever, No, if we do that. But there are those who contend that even then we should make the required concession—not Romanists only, but the most liberal Protestants. I can not find the argument for such a plea. The ideal here is that which is the constitutional law of California—that no money or property shall be appropriated by the State or any municipality for any school not exclusively controlled by the State

or municipality. Otherwise you have that "establishment of religion" which is prohibited by the Constitution of the United States and should be by every other. As between the sharing of the school fund and the remission of taxes there is not a particle of moral difference. *Facit per alium facit per se.* Furnishing equal education for all, the State has no more call or right to furnish special education for some than to furnish the man who prefers a private cesspool in his own yard, with so much from the general tax for sewerage as will allow him to have one. Henry Thoreau used the "old Marlborough road" and other roads in and about Concord as much as anybody, and still declined to pay his regular tax, saying to Alcott, who came to see him in jail, in answer to his "Henry, why are you here?" "Why, Mr. Alcott, are you *not* here?" But if he had wholly neglected the roads and gone entirely across lots on his outings he would have had no better case. There were the roads provided for the good of all. Let him use them or not, he must help pay for them.

Universal suffrage demands universal education. For a man to vote who can not read his vote or write his name is evidently monstrous and absurd. This means compulsory education; that the means provided shall not run to waste; and that the State or the municipality can not forego the superintendence of all elementary training. It has no right to compel attendance on its own schools. It has a right to see to it that the education in private and parochial schools is what it ought to be. If this is socialism we must make the most of it.

The best counterblast to the parochial system is not sectarian opposition, but the so evident superiority of our common schools that the Roman Catholics shall see our good works and glorify the administration which makes them possible, often much easier because of the strong infusion in that administration of the blood which ran in Burke's and Grattan's and O'Connell's veins. For all the faults inhering in our public school instruction, it is evident that the parochial instruction generally has been much inferior to that. Make it still more so, and the parochial schools can not maintain the ruinous competition. It is not in human nature to pay a premium on an inferior article when the superior article can be had at the market price.

The relation of private schools to citizenship has caused no little sorrow and anxiety for the patriotic mind. Some-

times there comes along a socialist so rampant, or a patriot so fierce, that he would compel the public education of every child in the community. But this is foolishness. The private schools, while generally inferior to the public schools, are sometimes their superiors. At the least they relieve the overcrowding which is the curse and shame of public education in our great cities. At the best they offer an important criticism and rebuke to the defective methods of the public schools with their almost invariable tendency to run every child in the same mold and turn out a multitude of pupils as much alike in their acquirements as the victims of our great orphan asylums are in their dress. In this connection a very important relation of education to citizenship is brought home to us. The citizenship of an autocratic or oligarchic state requires dull acquiescence and passive obedience in the constituent member of the community. The citizenship of a democratic republic requires free intelligence. The education provided by the state should be such as to encourage this. Is this demand well met in our American public-school education? *It is not.* It too frequently reverses the natural order of development, which is, first, that which is concrete, and then that which is abstract, and makes the early education a matter of words and rules, and not a matter of things, of observation. This is the method, Prof. Harris tells us, to produce the conservative mind, and we may thank it in good measure for the fact that the American mind is more conservative and retrogressive at almost every point than the European. No one can compare the current literature of England with that of America and not be convinced that the former is a literature of much freer thought. The way in which our American Baptists, Methodists, and Presbyterians sleep on and take their rest after their Scotch and English cousins are wide awake to the new theology, teaches the same lesson: that learning things by rote, the mnemonic craze of American public-school education, is the worst possible preparation for the duties of an American citizen or the responsibilities of the religious life. Thrice welcome, then, be every private school that sets over against the abstractions and the uniformities of the public school the methods of concrete observation and the free adaptation of the curriculum to the individual mind, making not the willful choice but the manifest faculty of the boy or girl elective of their course. It is said that parents educating their children in private

schools will have no care to make the public schools what they should be. But no wise parent can be expected to give his children a lower education when he can secure and can afford a higher. The criticism of that higher on the lower pays his moral debt.

If, in my discussion of religious education in the schools, I have seemed to give in my adhesion to the opinion that secular education—i. e., education without formal religious exercises—is irreligious, as it is often called, or even unreligious or unmoral, I have done what I must hasten to undo. Willing, for all that I can see, to let each separate community retain the traditional forms where this can be done without friction, alas! I say for any school in which such forms—the reading of the Bible and a prayer—are all that it can do for morality and religion. Incidentally and unavoidably it can do much more, if the teacher and the teaching are both what they should be. The moral and the religious teaching which can not be got rid of in the most secular instruction, so long as it is deep and true, which sticks to all such instruction like the fairy Kobold to the household cart—such religious teaching will, I imagine, have to be endured by Protestants and Catholics, Gnostics and Agnostics, with a patient mind. For such religious teaching sings the song the Brahmin sings:

> "They reckon ill who leave me out;
> When me they fly I am the wings."

Show me the man who can teach astronomy, who can teach geology, who can teach biology, who can teach history without teaching religion, and I will show you a man who can paint the pictures of George Inness without being an artist, or write the verse of Browning without being a poet. Theology is still "*Scientia Scientiarum*," the science of sciences; and religion is, in part at least, the emotion of emotions, the aggregate of all those emotions which are awakened in the mind by the facts and laws and harmonies which the various sciences reveal. I had a teacher once, Marshall Conant, the principal of the Bridgewater State Normal School, in Massachusetts, who was as careful as ever a teacher was to avoid everything sectarian in his instruction, everything formally religious. But to hear him speak with face inspired and trembling tones of the wonders of the human body or the sidereal universe without a thrill of wonder, love, and praise, was as impossible as for

the musical person to hear Paderewski's playing without some trembling of the heart. Would that thrill, think you, have been any more religious if we had stopped to think how we should spell the name of that Eternal Power who doth preserve the stars from wrong, and in whom we live and move and have our being? We have all heard of the good woman who liked Shakespeare very much as a man, but did not like his works. And there are those who like God very much as a name, but do not like his works. That is the best religion to my thinking which most likes his works and cares least about his name. And wherever the wonders of the material universe are so taught as to stir the young heart of a boy or girl with admiration and with wonder and with awe, there will be religion, though the school be as completely secular as a school can possibly be made.

And as it is with religion so it is with morality. When cleanliness and neatness and order and punctuality and truthfulness and honor and fidelity are not moral virtues, then you may have a well-managed and well-disciplined school, in which morality is not taught—then and not before. Besides, a school without moral teaching must be a school in which the reading and the recitation shall avoid all that is best in literature, all that reports the sacrifices and nobilities of human life. There are school-readers which do this with tolerable success, but we do not cry for them in the schools to which our children go. We like to have them read of Arnold Winkelried and Samuel Adams, of Father Damien and the Jesuits of North America, of noble captains who have been the last to leave their sinking ships—yea, have gone down through the chill waters to the heart of God; and of George Nidiver, who shot the bear which was nearing his unarmed companion, and met the other with unweaponed heart. You must eliminate from your readers and from literature all such stuff as this—the stuff of which the best morality is made—before you can eliminate morality and the teaching of morality from the public schools.

But while believing, as I do, that the best teaching of morality is by the moral order of the school and by the heroisms and fidelities which literature has enshrined with its most perfect art, I believe that all that is best in morals can be formally taught in schools in such a way that no Protestant or Roman Catholic of ordinary intelligence would make

the least objection. The way I mean is that set forth in a book, Conduct as a Fine Art, which contains my friend N. P. Gilman's Laws of Daily Conduct, and Character Building, by Edward P. Jackson, one of the masters in the Boston Latin School. True, to use either of these helps successfully would require something in the teacher akin to the wisdom of the book. But text-books which do not require good teachers have yet to be discovered. God grant that their Columbus be, as yet, unborn!

Universal education ought to mean universal taxation. Every man who is not a pauper ought to do something for the maintenance of the common weal. No sentimental dread of a property qualification ought to prevent the levying of a poll-tax upon every citizen as such. You may make a man as much more precious than the gold of Ophir as you please, but a man who can not contribute at least two dollars a year for all the benefits which he derives from the town, county, and state in which he lives has no stuff in him for a citizen. If I am proud of anything in the course of my own life, it is that when in the Cambridge Divinity School I lived seven weeks on five dollars. Frugal were my repasts, but the man who would not willingly make his own as frugal for a week or two, and put his family on the same course if need be, to pay some part of that which goes for all, should never have a vote. In the mean time no objection can be less generally applicable to public education as developed in America than that which has overtopped all others for the British mind—that it makes education charity. One would suppose that the school fund came down entire from heaven like the mystic stone of the Mohammedan temple at Mecca, when, in fact, the people are but putting their hands in their own pockets. Only there should be no exceptions to the rule. Universal education ought to mean universal taxation. "What will you have, quoth God, pay for it and take it."

Elementary education is essential to citizenship. Let there be no educational restriction of the suffrage, and still a man should be ashamed to cast the blanket-ballot which he can not read with his own eyes and correct with his own hand. But much more than elementary education is essential. "The three Rs" are a glorious trinity, and geography with them makes an excellent quaternity, but to an intelligent citizen secondary education is indispensable; and for the highest functions of citizenship, those of leadership and

guidance, the higher education is as essential as reading and writing are to the humblest voter at the polls. And what are we doing in America to meet these requisitions? In 1889 there were 12,000,000 children of the elementary school age. How many of them were in the elementary schools? 12,931,259. The seeming paradox is easily explained. There were 931,259 pupils in these schools who were under six or over fourteen. But now observe the statistics for the secondary school years, from fourteen to twenty. There were 4,750,000 possible pupils for these years. There were actually enrolled 668,461—less than one seventh of the youth of secondary age. Of the 4,000,000 of right age for the higher education there were only 126,854 enrolled—less than one thirtieth of the quota. Shall we say: "No wonder that our politics is so little marked by sound intelligence"? But it would be infinitely worse off than it is if there were not an education which is not of the schools, an education of books, of the free library, of business, of life, which is sometimes so effectual that the young men it graduates put to an open shame the graduates of the colleges and schools. And lest we mourn too grievously over the statistics of our secondary and higher education, it should be remembered that there are many tasks and situations for which factory and bench and field are a much better education than our higher schools and colleges afford. At the same time there is no doubt that we could bear a very great extension of our secondary and collegiate education without social detriment, and with great advantage to our citizenship in all its range. I need hardly specify what lines of study would make up the sum of this advantage, they are so obvious to the most casual observation. One of them would certainly be that developed in John Fiske's Civil Government in the United States, a book which every voter in the country ought not merely to read but to con and inwardly digest, and to that end to have a copy of his own. How different the intelligence which the voter who had been thus qualified would bring to the town-meeting and to the appreciation of all political questions from the ignorance which is now so nearly universal! There's something rotten in our several States that our political consciousness is so much less vivid than it was a hundred years ago. To increase its vividness, such a book as Mr. Fiske's Civil Government would go far, and for the older reader Mr. Bryce's American Commonwealth, so faithful in its

criticism and so generous in its appreciation of our worse and better things. But to such political anatomy as these books and others of their kind make known to us, we must add the political physiology which our history and political biography reveal, showing the system in its dynamic operation. And here again Mr. Fiske has done us an inestimable service. If there was ever any justice in the comparative indifference to American history which was formerly in vogue, he has taken away our reproach. What a delightful tale is that which he has told of the successive eras of discovery and exploration and settlement and revolution and independent organization! There is this answer also to be made to the indifference named—that English history is just as much our history down to 1776 as it is that of our English cousins. Their Hampden and Cromwell are as much ours as their Shakespeare and Milton. It was their battle just as much as ours, as every student knows, that was fought out at Concord and Bunker Hill and Trenton and Princeton and Yorktown. History teaches patriotism, but it is not the only means of teaching it. Patriotism has had its poets, and their poems ought to be the refreshment and delight of every youth and maid. "I see them muster in a gleaming row"—the long and endless file. Happy the day that brings to the ingenuous heart the thrill, the pang, which is responsive to such words as those of Longfellow's: "Sail on, sail on!" or Paul Revere's Ride, Lowell's Present Crisis or Commemoration Ode, Whittier's great antislavery songs, Emerson's Voluntaries, Whitman's Our Captain, or Stedman's Osawotomie Brown. There will be an embarrassment of riches for the teacher who has an eye and heart for these great things. He need not confine himself to our American poets. Are not Milton's sonnets ours and Lycidas, Lovelace's song On going to the Wars, Marvel's Two Kings, Tennyson's Wellington Ode, Browning's Hervé Riel and Home Thoughts from the Sea, Doyle's Private of the Buffs and Lyall's Theology in Extremis—are not all these ours by right of sympathy and admiration, and so many more that the young scholar has no need to read one worthless thing from the beginning of his primary to the end of his collegiate course? And then, too, at the risk of teaching morals, and perhaps religion, somehow the teaching must make plain that there is a spurious patriotism as well as the true article. It is that which says "Our country, right or

wrong," while the true patriot would rather see her fleets dispersed, her army routed by the puniest foe, than to have them triumph over the strongest upon earth in an unjust or shameful cause. True, "the sheathed blade may rust with darker sin," but war must be the last resort of justice; not the first of spite, as it is too often in the double-leaded leading editorials. If we could have an educated press, the education not less moral than intellectual, then we should have the general assumption that each offending power will do exactly what it should, and that assumption would go far to make the wrong things right. So long as editorial cockiness can do so much to precipitate a needless war, there ought to be some understanding that, when it comes to fighting, the editors should be foremost in the field.

> "When Islam's army marches, place a beggar in the van,
> And the frightened host of infidels will rush to Hindustan."

An editorial vanguard might have no such disastrous effect upon the enemy, but it might have a salutary influence upon the editorial mind. In the phrase of the ungodly, they would "know how it is themselves."

The whole tendency of our patriotism is too much to magnify the military virtues while those of the statesman are left unregarded. Go to Washington, that beautiful city of which Americans may well be proud, and you will see its lovely squares or circles each with its equestrian general, General Jackson taking the responsibility of a position horizontal to the level of the street. The fact is too much a symbol of an inequality which ranges wide through all the patriotic impulses of the school and press, and gives the statesman, the reformer, the educator, the inventor, and the poet far less than belongs to him of honor, love, and praise.

It is not enough to hope that the ratio of college-bred men to the population may be indefinitely increased. The better the culture the better the citizen, but we must also hope that the higher education of the country may become more intimate with its politics, more controlling to its legislation. I know that university professors are called *doctrinaire*, and in proof that they are so we are offered the undoubted fact that they are ten to one low-tariff men in their expressed opinions and free-traders in their hearts. But this is perhaps only what we should expect as the result of studies biased neither by business interests nor political

expectations. Moreover, the most stout protectionists will privately assure you that free trade is the

"one far-off divine event,"

and that they do not favor a *high* tariff—that is, not a *very* high one, only a *pretty* high one, for the present, until our infant industries have got their growth. But it is not proposed to recruit our legislators from college faculties, though these have taken to themselves some of our most promising young politicians; it is proposed to recruit them somewhat more largely from the body of our liberally educated men. If Wendell Phillips distrusted them, there was Wendell Phillips to show in his own person how unwarrantable was his distrust. The Hon. Theodore Roosevelt does not lecture on Qualifications for Office without having proved that he possesses them in an eminent degree, and he is, I think, a college man. It was another, and pre-eminently the scholar in our politics, Charles Sumner, who, April 30, 1864, introduced the first bill looking to that reformation of our civil service of which Mr. Roosevelt is the official head, and of which the moral head for twenty years and more has been George William Curtis, the Chancellor of the University of the State of New York, the presiding genius of the whole system of our higher education in collegiate and academic schools. And in these instances we have no exception to a rule. The rule has been that at every stage of our development much of the best in our political intelligence and inspiration has come from highly educated men. Before the scholar in politics can be disdained, we must make up our minds to disdain Cotton and Winthrop and Hooker, and many another the founder of the New England States, James Otis and the Adamses, and Witherspoon, and many more of that great company who achieved our independence; we must forget that Thomas Jefferson, of William and Mary, wrote the Declaration, and James Madison, of Princeton, well-nigh our Constitution, which, put on its defense, he with Jay and Hamilton, of Columbia, in the papers of The Federalist, made good against the general assault; we must forget that Daniel Webster established that interpretation of the Constitution against which the armies of secession broke in vain; we must forget how many men of college training followed the lead of Garrison; John Quincy Adams's part in the antislavery conflict; Lowell's Tyrtæan songs; the wrath which thundered from the pulpits in

which Beecher and Parker stood for the higher law; and Seward's "irrepressible conflict," to say nothing of John A. Andrew's distinction at Bowdoin, which was to be the lowest in his class. That was because a college course was not then what it should be—a splendid opportunity for a young man to pounce upon his own. Across the Atlantic the great forms of Gladstone and Cavour and Stein are seen bringing their glory and honor into the service of our plea for educated politics, the scholar in the halls of legislation and the places of executive control. I do not forget that neither Washington nor Lincoln was a college man, and many have done well in politics without a liberal education, though these excel them all. But the wider the range of our investigation the more convincing we shall find the argument for a careful educational training as the best possible training for the legislator's work, the best possible safeguard against the vagaries of the financial schemer and the crudities of fanatic zeal. And if it has been so in the past, it must be much more so in the future when the studies of our secondary and higher schools and colleges are brought into more intimate relations with the history of our country, her economic system, and the structure and interpretation of her organic law. The educational system of America has not yet attained unto the highest things, but it is following after them with a diligent and patient mind. It need not fear the Danaans bringing gifts—the French and Germans, with their different methods widely opposed and yet each having its own special excellence. It need not fear to change in any way that is for the better. The best, that is the most American. And the better the education—the more intellectual, the more moral, the more practical, the more ideal—the better will be the citizenship which it will instruct, ennoble, and inspire.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISCUSSION.

WILLIAM H. MAXWELL, PH. D.:

In this presence it is not necessary for me to say one word of eulogium on Mr. Chadwick and his paper. You will not expect me to follow him through all his argument and touch upon every point of this vast subject. If I gathered the thought of the lecturer, he reached the conclusion that universal suffrage involves the necessity of universal education. From this he deduced the necessity of compulsory education. As I listened to his great array of statistics I regretted that he did not give the figures as to illiteracy. They are eloquent, and show that in the United States, and even in New York or Massachusetts, we are far from having reached the condition of Bavaria, Saxony, Baden, and other States of the German Empire. We have in this State a compulsory education law, but it is a poor one. The law reduces the necessity of school attendance to a minimum. It requires only fourteen weeks each year for children between eight and fourteen years of age. The law is so poorly drawn and badly worded that any parent desiring to violate its provisions could probably do so. Only civil process can be brought against an offender, and the fine is one dollar for the first offense and five dollars for the second. Again, the law is defective in that it makes no provision for its enforcement. New York and Brooklyn are the only cities in the State which are making any efforts to enforce it. There is a proposed law now before the Legislature which, in some respects, is a decided improvement on the present law, but is still far from satisfactory. It makes failure to educate children a crime punishable by fine and imprisonment. It proposes that children between seven and twelve shall attend school from October 1st to June 1st. From twelve to fourteen, children must attend at least twenty weeks in each year, and if not in school during the remainder of the school year they must be employed in some useful occupation. From fourteen to sixteen they may be usefully employed all the time; but if not, they must be in school. Any locality in which the authorities shall not make provision for the enforcement of this law shall lose its share of the school funds. The defect of the law is that it does not require that instruction shall be given in the English language. And it does away with the only good provision of the present law—that which provides for the punishment of those who employ children in unlawful ways. The law against employing chil-

dren in factories is enforced by factory inspectors. As the agent of the Board of Education some years ago, I found the greatest obstacle to the enforcement of the school law to be the employment of children at home in the tenement houses.

Another of Mr. Chadwick's deductions is that not only should education be compulsory, but the State should see to it that education in private and parochial schools is what it ought to be. I can hardly say that I agree. I am aware that that is the plan in Germany. There no one is permitted to teach in public or private schools or as a private tutor unless he has a good certificate, and all private schools must conform to strict rules laid down by the Minister of Public Instruction. I do not think the American people would tolerate such regulations. Two or three years ago, when a compulsory education law had passed both houses of the Legislature and was in the hands of the Governor, the friends of the private schools imagined that one clause gave the public authorities control over licensing teachers in private schools. It was not so, but the feeling developed was so strong that the Governor vetoed the bill. But Mr. Chadwick himself supplied the best argument against his own position. If it is true that the public schools are turning out children all of one pattern, why should he want to extend that influence? I can ask with him and Emerson: "If there is rot in the potato, what is the use of raising a large crop?"

In education, as in every other department of life, emulation and competition are essential to progress. I should like to see every parochial and private school in this city far better than it is, not merely for the sake of the children in those schools, but for the good of all; and I should also like to see the public schools better for the sake of the private schools. If the State controls the education of all the children, it will have the power to develop a certain type of character, which is a dangerous prerogative. I believe, however, that the right of the State to educate involves the right to license teachers, and to set a certain minimum limit to education. The law ought to provide that no child under fourteen should be permitted to work until he has passed a certain examination.

The common schools should be made so good that the private and parochial schools would be forced to be equally good or give up the competition. I do not claim that Brooklyn schools have reached that point. I think it is the part of wisdom to be modest. In the Brooklyn public schools there is some exceedingly bad teaching; in the majority of cases the teaching is very good; and in some cases it is as good as can be found in the country. Yet the schools are not organized in the best way. We need kindergartens. Mr. Chadwick truly said that education must begin in the concrete, and utilize the won-

derful self-activity of the child. Now, little ones of five or six years old are put in classes of seventy or one hundred, or even more, under one teacher. We need not be told that one teacher can not do justice to one hundred pupils. The remedy is to put the young children into kindergarten classes.

The lecture was a magnificent argument for the scholar in politics. We need college graduates as leaders; and that makes it necessary that the public schools should be so organized as to lead very directly to the obtaining of a liberal education, and in all cases where the pupil does not look forward to a higher education, to give him a taste for reading and study. Mr. Chadwick indicated the weakest spot in the public-school system—too much uniformity. We should begin to differentiate earlier than we do. The average age of the public-school graduate is fifteen years. If he goes to college, it takes four years to prepare and four years to get through; then, if he takes a profession, it takes three years more, and the man is twenty-six before he is able to earn anything. The people of this city can have anything they demand in the way of improvements in public education. They should demand and have only the best.

MISS ELLEN E. KENYON, PD. M.:

Part of the ground I intended to cover has been already discussed by Mr. Maxwell. I will adopt his eloquent words in praise of the lecture as my own, and also what he says as to licensing teachers. I dissent from none of the main points of the lecture. I believe in socialism to about the same extent as Mr. Chadwick. There is a wholesome dread of socialistic tendencies that may be too much exaggerated. The claims of the extreme anti-socialists prove that they have not closely followed the trend of evolution. Man has ceased to be the unconscious subject of evolution—the blind product of external forces and conditions; he has taken evolution into his own hands. But as the laws, nevertheless, are fixed, a certain amount of humility is becoming.

The socialism at present existing in our civilized communities is the product of growth rather than of deliberate planning. It needs reforming, but is better than the rank individualism of the monopolist. I do not believe in creating a socialistic monopoly by the State. I believe in the admission of private enterprise to free and fair competition with every public enterprise. It is unwise to allow government monopoly in the postal business; and the public school has no right to any unfair advantage over the private school. Parents who prefer private schools should be released from their share of expense for public education. Why not allow to private schools out of the public

treasury amounts equal to the pro rata cost of educating their children in the public schools? This would take away the last argument from those who object to the public schools as charity. We must make education compulsory, and have public schools sufficient in number and efficiency to supply what private schools fail to supply; but not so protected by the State that they will kill the private schools.

As an example of progressive methods in education, take the school of Mrs. Louisa Hopkins, containing about twenty children. She used all possible means to excite an original interest on the part of the pupils. Sometimes she would take them to the sea-shore for a day, and the next day the facts discovered were reviewed and set in order. One day they went fifteen miles to see an old sailor who had a collection of curiosities and who liked to talk. This trip furnished suggestions for reading for several days. Such methods may seem impracticable in our large city schools. But if the State undertakes to educate, it should educate. Science and literature must become the basis of public-school education before it can give up its legal advantage and compete successfully with that of private schools.

It is said that secondary education is requisite to intelligent citizenship. True; but secondary education is of secondary importance, here as elsewhere. This is not the place to begin reforms; they should begin at the bottom. Make the primary school what it should be. Primary education based upon the kindergarten is capable of opening every avenue of culture. But this requires trained teachers. Build more normal schools, supply better literature for the children, and the press will soon respond to the demands of an educated people. Let us remember that in the training of the child for good citizenship one ounce of prevention is worth ten thousand tons of cure.

PROF. H. J. MESSENGER:

I find much to praise and little to criticise in the lecture. If we notice the development of the public-school system we shall see how it has fallen into certain ruts of mechanical method. Public schools were originally introduced as local institutions throughout the country. It was soon seen that there must be some system in their management. The result was that each State took hold and organized a splendid system; but, having a very definite form, it soon got into a rut. However, reform will surely come, but differing from the last speaker, I think it will come from the top, down. Of late years we have seen how the one-course system has been superseded by the elective system in our colleges, and how the new method has been gradually working down from post-graduate courses to senior, and in some universities to sophomore and freshman classes. Eventually it will reach the pre-

paratory schools; it has already done so to some extent. We are realizing the fact that only a small percentage of the pupils of the public schools can go to college, and for those who do not, a different course of study is needed.

In considering education as related to citizenship, we must bear in mind that there are a great many kinds of education. We do not need an education which makes one an authority on pronunciation, or enables him to speak French and play his part among the four hundred; but we do need that which makes one a student of Nature and of Nature's ways; a student of history, able to grasp the political questions of the time and to note the results of their past treatment. If we had an educated people we should not have to pass through the greenback craze or a free-silver agitation. If man had such an education he would realize the fact that all change is gradual; that all efforts at improvement are not lost, even if the world is not reformed in two weeks; that everything is neither all wrong nor all right. No act of your life is productive wholly of good or evil; all is relative. When we realize this we shall not have such intense partisan spirit. If patriotism means love of country, we can not have too much of it. But Goldwin Smith says: "Above all nations is humanity." We must realize the fact that there are other nations besides America. While America is a good country, the violent patriotism of a certain class of newspapers can be overdone. Education tends to tone down that form of patriotism in a beneficent manner.

DR. LEWIS G. JANES:

In regard to the question of socialism involved in public education and discussed to-night in some of its other relations, I think no evolutionist can fail to see that the true line of societary progress is toward the freeing of the individual from governmental control; but we can not make a sudden leap to complete freedom. On the way it may be necessary to take some steps that seem to tend toward socialism. The public school is such a step. In other matters, however, our methods are really not as socialistic as they appear. In the matter of street-cleaning, e. g., the usual method is to let out the contract to private parties. This is correct—strictly in line with Mr. Spencer's conception of justice. It is the right and duty of the local government to see that this work is properly done. No one affirms this class of rights more thoroughly than Mr. Spencer; and if the system of giving contracts, for this and other work, has become an affair of political favoritism and private monopoly, it may be necessary for the community to take the business into its own hands for a while. This is not necessarily a step toward State socialism. Our Post-Office

Department is not socialistic in the details of its management; in the carrying of the mails, the work is let out to private individuals or corporations under free competition. I should deprecate any real steps toward State socialism or Bellamyism.

MR. CHADWICK:

It is too late for any reply. I will merely express my gratitude for the criticisms on my address and for the expansions and illustrations of my thoughts, and close with the words of that great teacher, Dr. Arnold, of Rugby: "The measure of my loyalty to any institution is my desire to reform it."

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY

BY

EDWARD M. SHEPARD

AUTHOR OF LIFE OF MARTIN VAN BUREN: THE COMPETITIVE TEST;
THE WORK OF A SOCIAL TEACHER, ETC.

COLLATERAL READINGS SUGGESTED:

The Federalist; Brown and Strauss's Dictionary of American Politics; Patton's The Democratic Party; Cooper and Fenton's American Politics; Houghton's Conspectus of the History of Political Parties and the Federal Government; Johnston's History of American Politics; Stanwood's History of Presidential Elections; Von Holst's Constitutional and Political History of the United States; Sterne's Constitutional History and Political Development of the United States; Works of Jefferson, Madison, and Calhoun; Messages of President Grover Cleveland.

THE DEMOCRATIC PARTY.

By Edward M. Shepard.

You will perhaps remember in Thackeray's Paris Sketch Book the two pen-and-ink figures of the French monarch of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, in whose reign of seventy years French civilization took on its modern form. In the first sketch we have Louis the Great in robes of ermine and purple, his brow surmounted by a superb and well-nigh impossible head of hair, his shoulders broad and firm for cares of sovereignty, and his hand grasping a scepter; altogether it is a splendid figure of conscious power. In the second view the monarch, having retired from the public gaze to his chamber, has, much to his comfort, been reduced to the reality of his own manhood. The heavy vestments have been thrown off; no wig conceals the royal baldness; the shoulders and legs are no longer padded out to lines of beauty; the paint and powder are gone, so that the eyes are seen to be sunken, and the wrinkled features of old age are plain. In this bald, feeble, spindling creature there is, however, all that ever there was of genuine man or genuine ruler, all that had been so successfully idealized by the disguise and harness of the first sketch. There we had the king of tradition, of popular imagination, ruling his people from an Olympian height of unspeakable wisdom and sacred power. Here is the king of reality, a feeble man, selfish, narrow, short-sighted.

Government was once identical with kingship. Modern government has inherited many—more, indeed, than we sometimes think—of the features and illusions of kingship. The imposing and mysterious entity called *government* may, even in our own land and time, be subjected, with advantage, to the sort of disenchantment represented in the caricatures. The primary and all-including article in the creed of the Democratic party, when at its best, has been its disbelief that government has any virtue or wisdom apart from the virtue and wisdom of the men who compose it. Democrats have been hostile to the glamour of ceremony, to the traditions and mystery which have magnified the attributes and abilities of the many particular men who administer govern-

ment into a single and half-divine personality with which it is irreverent to deal on terms of practical and immediate criticism. Democrats have always condemned as superstitious the ascription to government of hidden and indefinable sources of inspiration incapable of analysis into specific human elements.

If government, however, ought to be dealt with merely as an assemblage of men for specific and practical purposes, then surely it will not be reasonable, at least of a Sunday evening and in a place of worship, to otherwise treat a political party. Doubtless it is convenient for campaign orators to speak of the Democratic party as a person of one identical character, developed steadily through a career which, according to the observer, has been one of glory or of shame,—a person of uniform instincts, of fixed habits, of steadfast ambition. In the exigencies of an election, appeals to party traditions and the cries of clanship under a great leader are obviously useful. It then seems almost necessary to appeal to that enthusiasm and loyalty which go out only to a person or single figure. Politicians, the best and the worst of them, will alike and always speak of their party as if it were a St. George of perennial nobleness and valor engaged in immortal and steady combat with the dragon. You will recall the genuine, even if fleeting, enthusiasm aroused in Brooklyn a few years ago when a man of distinguished station simply said to a crowd in the Academy of Music: "I am a Democrat." What the phrase properly meant it might take a volume to say. To few, indeed, of those who heard it did the words bring any philosophical or historical view of American government, or indeed any living or immediate belief, except, perhaps, the belief that the speaker would, if he were in the place of another distinguished citizen, distribute offices more rapidly than they were then being distributed among the members of his party. I do not believe, however, that the latter and grosser motive was the controlling one with the people who cheered. The enthusiasm largely signified personal devotion to a concrete image, the American Democracy, a goddess always watching over her worshipers, always beneficent, always the same.

I shall not for a moment this evening, even if I could, idealize the Democratic party as an unchanging personification of political virtues. Nor do I think that its treatment two weeks from this evening as a changeless personification of political vices would be either true or useful. It is the

only American party which has had a continuous life from the time of Washington's administration to the present. But it has never been anything else than an aggregation of men shifting and changing, with motives and views likewise shifting and changing, sometimes loyal, sometimes most disloyal, to the original impulse of the party; sometimes ruled by sound and far-seeing patriotism, sometimes half inspired with a real love of mankind, but sometimes also ruled by grosser motives and headed by selfish, timid, and even corrupt leaders. In its career the Democratic party had often been most useful to the American Commonwealth, and sometimes, I believe, profoundly and enduringly useful to the world. More than once, on the other hand, it has stood offensively and dangerously in the way of the public good; more than once it has surrendered itself to impulses contemptible and base.

It is just about one hundred years ago that the Democratic party in the United States—and by that I mean the present organization—was born of the theoretical and philosophical temper which pervaded Europe and America in the later years of the last century, and the practical fruit of which had been the destruction of monarchical institutions in America and France. Instead of dealing, as typical Anglo-Saxons would have dealt, as probably Hamilton and John Adams would have dealt, only with the particular wrongs and inconveniences of British oppression, the genius of Thomas Jefferson had, in the Declaration of Independence fifteen or twenty years before, made the thirteen colonies define the whole reason and framework of government. Much of what he said now seems truism. It was the supreme merit of his career that he turned truths into truisms. He declared the theoretical rights—what he called the "inalienable rights"—of man; he declared the justification of government to be its ability to secure those rights; he declared respect or obedience to be due government solely as in actual practice it secured those rights. Whenever government ceased to perform this practical work, it was only prudence and never awe which should restrain citizens, if they were to be restrained at all, from overturning it. Divinity was no longer to hedge it around. King George was, by the precise specifications of the Declaration, stripped of his majesty, as in the caricature of Louis XIV, and dealt with as a man who, vested with physical powers, had done the colonists certain concrete wrongs.

Very soon after the end of the American Revolution Jefferson went to Paris, where he lived during several years of the intellectual ferment which preceded the cataclysm of the French Revolution. After our Constitution was formed and Washington's administration was well under way, Jefferson, returning home, was still, or perhaps more zealously, an apostle of the rights of man—a thorough-going iconoclast toward every image of government as an earthly deity. To his influence we probably owe the first ten amendments of the Federal Constitution—that bill of rights which has been so largely copied into the constitutions of the American States. They form a series of declarations of jealousy of government, or rather of the bodies of men who from time to time compose government. Their meaning is that the price of liberty is eternal vigilance toward rulers—not less toward rulers elected by the people than toward those set over the people by the once useful but now absurd system of primogeniture. While he was the nominal head of Washington's cabinet, Jefferson and his friends viewed with intense dislike the effort of Hamilton and his friends to form into a governing class the citizens who had property, the citizens who, through a dangerous slip, were called the "well-born," and their effort to lodge in the Federal Government the chief political powers of every State. Hamilton, you will perhaps remember, had proposed life-tenure for the President and senators, and the appointment of governors of the States by Federal authority, with the power to every governor of an absolute veto upon the legislation of his State. In our admiration for his great powers and our gratitude for his splendid services in setting up the framework of our Government, it is sometimes forgotten that the Federal Constitution is a radically different thing from what Hamilton would have had it; that but little of it is his handiwork; that it represents quite as much, to say the least, the Democratic view as the Federalist view of American politics. In private Hamilton declared it to be a "frail and worthless fabric." Democracy—and by that he meant the eager jealous participation of all citizens in the Government, as well those whom he deemed unimportant and incompetent as those who held responsible places in the community and were skilled in affairs—Democracy, he declared just before his death, to be a "virulent poison."

From the time of Jefferson's return to America and his appointment as Secretary of State in 1790 until his inau-

guration as President in 1801, the Democratic party was in its first stage; and in that stage it tended toward extreme opposition to the Hamiltonian views. In the formation of lasting popular opinion, in permanently molding the political instincts and institutions of America, and in setting up ideals which have in our land grown stronger and stronger with the lapse of time, the genius of Jefferson was, with the possible exception of that of Franklin, the most fruitful which our country has known. Within twelve years after our present Government began he had gathered a majority of the people of the United States into an organization then called the Republican, afterward called the Democratic-Republican, and finally, and until the present time, called the Democratic party. During that period the principles of the party were well settled. They appear in Jefferson's political papers, in his incessant correspondence, in the Virginia and Kentucky resolutions, for both of which, doubtless, Jefferson and Madison were largely responsible, and in a great wealth of political and party literature more or less *doctrinaire*.

The Democratic principles were in substance these: *First*, Just government is a mere instrument for accomplishing certain useful and practical purposes which citizens in their other relations can not accomplish, and primarily, and chiefly, to protect men, as, without trespass upon others, they pursue happiness in their own way. Every effort, by ceremonial or otherwise, to ascribe to government virtue or intelligence, or invite to it honor, not belonging to the men who compose it, is an effort against the public welfare. *Second*, The less government does, the more it leaves to individual citizens to do, the better. Every grant of power to government ought, therefore, to be strictly and jealously construed as impairing to some extent the natural rights of men. *Third*, There should be the maximum of local self-government. Where it is doubtful between the Federal Government and a State, or between a State and a lesser community, which should exercise a power, the doubt ought to be solved in favor of the government nearer the home, and more closely under the eye, of the individual citizen. *Fourth*, It follows that the expenditure of money by the Government ought to be the least possible; the collection and disbursement by public officials of money earned by other men tends to corruption, not only in the jobbery and thievery more or less attending irresponsible expenditure of

money, but perhaps more seriously in its tendency to create in the minds of citizens a sense of dependence upon government. And *fifth*, to sum up all the rest, the Government should make the least possible demand upon the citizen, and the citizen the least possible demand upon the Government. The citizen should never suppose that he can be made virtuous or kept virtuous by law, or that he ought to be helped to wealth or ease by those of his fellows who happen to hold the offices, and for that reason to be collectively called "the Government."

Such was the Democratic creed at its beginning; and, in spite of many disloyalties of the party, such the creed, at least as a creed, has remained until the present time. Certain constructive functions, like the post-office in the Federal administration, or the care of streets in municipal administration, it is admitted—it was then admitted—must be performed by the Government. Those constructive functions, with the increase in wealth and complexity of modern life, tend to increase in number and importance. But, as to each one of them, the burden is upon those who would have the Government assume it, to show that Government is fit for it; and by Government is always meant the men actually making up the administration, with all the limitations upon their intelligence and integrity, and with all the disadvantages incident to the performance of business by those who bear but an insignificant part of its burdens. It is with ample regard to these considerations that we should determine as to each constructive work, whether it ought to be done by some division of the Government. The main purpose and justification of government is, in every response of the Democratic litany, and with ceaseless iteration, declared to be the protection of the individual citizen in best and most freely exercising his calling and in living his life without trespass upon the like freedom of his neighbor. Long before the birth of Herbert Spencer—for whose figure, with an aureole about the head, one half looks in the meeting-house of this association—the best of the propositions of Social Statics was an axiom of the Democratic party. The creed is neither warm nor inspiring. It seems to be selfish, and in some essentials it is selfish. It says: "Let each man take care of himself. Let no man, through the power of popular majorities, shift his burdens upon other men."

Out of the triumph of this creed, which the first year of

our century brought, and incidental to that triumph, have come many things unpleasant to well-ordered citizens. The refusal to recognize public men as a class possessing esoteric knowledge, the admiration for the plain, simple man, has not infrequently led the American people to put incompetence and stupidity into official place. The dislike of forms, the determination to deal with realities, has sometimes led to the neglect of forms necessary to thoroughness, precision, and convenience. In a conversation which I was honored in having with James Russell Lowell while he was Minister to England he touched upon this subject, as, indeed, he did in several of his political essays. He told me of a request which had been made to him by a foreign government—I think that of Spain, where he had lately been Minister—for information accessible only in one of the departments of the American Government. He described the respectful care and thoroughness of the form in which the request for information had come to him, and had by him been sent to America; and then he spoke sharply of the flimsy and careless, and even slovenly, papers which had come to him in return for submission to the foreign government—papers which must create disgust in any well-ordered and disciplined mind. I said to myself, and I have a half impression that I said to Mr. Lowell: "Here are fruits of Thomas Jefferson." Not that Jefferson would ever himself have so transacted business, or perhaps tolerated such transaction of business in others. On the contrary, his work of this sort was thorough and admirable. But in the American mind and habits of thought Jefferson and his school have implanted so deeply the idea that forms are of secondary consequence, and the conditions of our country have been so favorable to the growth of the idea, that not infrequently the usefulness, or even the necessity, of forms is overlooked. It is quite possible that a dirty, shabby, half-legible document may serve the main purposes of the thing to be done; and doubtless the substance of the document is of vastly more consequence than its form. Form must not control or stifle the substance, as in some of the business of Spanish-American countries, or in the circumlocution offices of years ago in England. But Jefferson knew, although many of his followers have forgotten, that where form itself is not properly observed there is grave danger that the substance will also suffer and sometimes will be lost. When Jefferson received the British Minister, Mr. Merry, it was

doubtless well that burdensome etiquette should not prevent the men going promptly and clearly to the business in hand; but slippered feet and shabby dress, if the story of Jefferson be true, did not help, but rather hindered, the business. When the Brooklyn Bridge was opened eight years ago we determined, rightly enough, to have about it a bit of pomp and ceremony. In one part of the proceeding the President, the Governor, and other persons of distinction walked over the footway of the bridge. In a European country this parade would have been orderly, beautiful, solemn. Here, however, one saw a desultory, straggling body of citizens with a slatternly, dirty man carrying an ugly water pail and a tin dipper not far from the President of the United States —the whole of the affair without that reasonable dignity of official appearance which ought to belong to a public ceremony. I again said to myself, as I saw it: "Jefferson, here again are your works." American sentiment has in large measure forbidden garbs to various public professions and ceremony to public affairs; and I thoroughly believe the reason of the prohibition to be sound and fruitful of good. The public watchfulness and conscience are not to be diverted from the essential thing which is done by any splendor or beauty of form or procedure.

Wholesome as is this greater simplicity to which we have been coming, it has been reached at the cost of submitting to much that is mean and even repulsive in appearance. Why could we not dismiss the cumbersome vanities of useless etiquette, the affectation of mystery in the transaction of affairs, public or private, without dismissing also the proprieties and without wounding the sense of the beautiful? The Graces and the Muses, no less now than in the classic days, or in Italy of the Renaissance, deserve shrines in the temples of Republicanism. But this is digression. Whatever were, whatever still are, the blemishes of its fruits, such was the Democratic creed when Jefferson entered the White House. From 1801 until 1825 the Democratic party was in control of the machinery of government. At the end of that time there was no opposition. When the presidential election of 1824 took place each candidate was declared by his supporters to be the best Republican of them all. John Quincy Adams and Henry Clay, quite as much as Andrew Jackson and William H. Crawford, were supposed to be followers of Jefferson and Madison. So utterly destroyed was the Federal party that its traditions have since

that time played no practical part in the development of the United States. The career, for instance, of Abraham Lincoln is quite as far away from Federalist ideals as the career of Andrew Jackson. Both careers were made possible by the surrender of the land to the political ideas of the philosophers who were our Presidents during the first sixteen years of the century. Not, however, that all the Democrats were mere theorists. There were among the Democratic statesmen of the time several able administrators. Gallatin, for instance, was one of the greatest executives our country has known. The Clintons, and, among the younger men, Van Buren, were highly competent in the efficient transaction of the business of government. Never have our national finances been better cared for. Still, on the whole, the first twenty years of Democratic administration were not conspicuous for executive efficiency. Jefferson was a poor administrator. Madison was not a great one. And although Monroe, the least able of the three men, was in this respect superior to the other two, his executive talents were quite inferior to those of his successor.

When John Quincy Adams became President he determined, although without recurrence to the ceremonial features of Federalism, to make the Washington Government a firmer, abler institution, to start it in the way of constructive work, to make it open the great highways through the country, to make it influential abroad. Joined, as Adams was, by the attractive abilities and character of Henry Clay, the Whig party was formed during this administration; and from the election of 1828, in which Adams was defeated for re-election, until 1844, the Democratic theories of government were ably and patriotically attacked by some of the most famous Americans. It is an interesting speculation to imagine what the present condition of our country would have been if the Whigs had succeeded in establishing as the policy of government the construction of the thoroughfares between the States; that is to say, if the Federal Government had taken upon itself the construction of the great railways of the land. Under Jackson and Van Buren the Democratic party dissolved the close alliance between the Federal Government and the banks. The Federal Government was not, directly or indirectly, to loan money to its citizens, for that was the proposition substantially maintained by the Whigs in the bank controversy. Since then Government has indeed deposited

moneys with banks, but only as a mere convenience, and never under a general policy of helping bankers or merchants. Under Jackson and Van Buren the Democratic party at last showed genuine energy and ability of the first order in the executive administration of affairs. The United States has never known more forcible administrations than theirs. But in the debasing use of official patronage the party then exhibited, to an odious degree, the disloyalty, which had permeated the whole body of the American people, to one of the cardinal principles of Democracy. That the business offices of Government were mere implements for the transaction of the business of the people, and not partisan prizes or private possessions, as then they still were in aristocratic and corrupt England, had been the firm conviction of Jefferson as of other earlier American statesmen. For his honorable persistence in this respect John Quincy Adams deserves our lasting gratitude, as the Democratic party of his day deserves a severe condemnation.

From 1800 to 1844 the Democratic party, being almost continually in possession of the Government, had almost lost sight of, or grown lukewarm toward, its Kentucky and Virginia resolutions and its State Rights predilections. It was a thoroughly Union party; it was *the* Union party. The disunionists were for some years chiefly New England Federalists. In 1833 there was the later outbreak of disunion in South Carolina under Calhoun and other seceders from the Democratic party, in suppressing which the Democratic administration used emphatic language of intense and peremptory devotion to the Union which would not have ill-fitted an original Federalist. Indeed, if one will apply to politics the elementary rules of human conduct, he will perceive it to be no very wonderful thing that the party in possession of the Federal administration is always a Union party, or that disunionists are always men out of the control of the central administration.

In Van Buren's presidency occurred the memorable financial crisis of 1837 and 1838; and his resolute and unpopular application of the principle that citizens in pecuniary trouble must not look to the Federal Government for loans of credit or other help, but must work out their own salvation, was one of the finest exhibitions of patriotic and far-seeing wisdom known to American history. In my opinion, the Democratic party did not again reach an equal height until December, 1887.

About 1844 the slavery question definitely entered party politics. Slavery existed only in the Southern States; and in those agricultural communities the Democratic party, standing for low duties on imports, had come to be strongest. Its strength there was, however, quite unrelated to its opinions on the slavery question. But later, under the threats of interference with slavery in the States, the slave-owners more and more drifted to the Democratic party because of its strict doctrine of non-interference with the domestic affairs of the States. And when the slave-owners wished, as they soon after did, not only to protect the institution in the States, but to compel the rest of the Union to accept its atrocities, they carried the Democratic party far away from its creed.

Among the Democrats there was—there had always been—a large antislavery feeling. Jefferson had been almost an abolitionist; out of the Democratic party there later came to the Republican party many abolitionists, among whom you will at once recall John P. Hale, Salmon P. Chase, David Wilmot and William Cullen Bryant. The Southern Democrats, after a struggle, captured the organization of their party, and refused Van Buren the nomination of 1844 because he was opposed to the annexation of Texas and to the extension of slavery which it meant. From that time until the election of Lincoln the Democratic party was ruled by the slave-holders of the South. It was still a Union party; in one sense its unionism was too strong. It so far believed in the Union that it was willing to sacrifice its own principles of liberty and local self-government and its self-respect, and to agree to a monstrous iniquity in order to preserve the Union. Upon a monument in Greenwood to a distinguished young Democrat who died during that time, and who, though supporting slavery, or rather the contentions of slave-holders, was no friend to slavery, the cherished aim of his political career was declared to be, and truly, "the union of the Democratic party for the sake of the Union."

The motives of the chief Democratic leaders of this period I believe to have been patriotic to a high degree. Disunion seemed to them to be the greatest of evils; and they believed, and rightly, that disunion must come, unless concession after concession should be made to the slave-holding South. The Whig party was no better. It had become contemptible long before it fell to pieces on the rise of the present Republican party. The real truth and the soundest and most conservative wisdom was that of the antislavery disunion

men of the day, of the agitators who declared that if the preservation of the Union meant the continuance or the extension of slavery, they were for breaking up the Union; if the Constitution stood for slavery, then it was a covenant with Hell. When Buchanan became President the timid and anxious unionism of the Democratic organization had made it completely disloyal to its own traditions as well as to the cause of human freedom. Democrats were now insanely extending Federal powers for the sake of slavery; and however real their love of the Union, it blinded them to the simple elements of right and wrong. The Dred Scott decision, declaring that the Federal Constitution, of its own force, carried slavery into all the territories, out-federalized the Federalists. Bleeding Kansas told the story of the ruthless destruction of local rights by the administration of a party which affected to be the special guardian of local rights and of human freedom. Van Buren, in his history of political parties, quite justly rejoiced to point out that Buchanan had been originally a Federalist and that in his old age he had returned to Federalism; that Taney, the Chief Justice who had pronounced the Dred Scott decision, had likewise been originally a Federalist and had in his old age returned to Federalism. Those days, when the Democratic party was Unionist, and nearly Federalist, were the days of its lowest estate.

The present Republican party was founded in 1854 upon the proposition that there should be no further extension of slavery. It was not an antislavery party so far as concerned the States and Territories in which slavery already existed. Until it was chosen to power, it was not a Unionist party. On the contrary, its leaders, and notably Lincoln and Seward and Chase, before the presidential election of 1860, rightly enough, as one must infer from their speeches, set the "higher law" above the Union. The Democratic party being at last and ignominiously turned out of power in 1861, all the Democrats of the South and a few of those at the North became disunionists. The Republican party, however, immediately upon its triumph in 1860, began fearfully to turn from the higher law; it became in its turn a Union party. Its leaders (and among them one reads the names of John Sherman, William Windom, and Charles Francis Adams) voted for extreme and, it is not too much to say, shameful, pro-slavery measures, designed to conciliate the South.

It is one of the amazing facts of our political history that after the presidential campaign of 1860, in which the Republican party urged as its chief claim to power its determination that slavery should be excluded from the Territories, the Republican party helped in the early months of 1861, even Charles Sumner not opposing, to pass laws bringing in the new Territories of Colorado, Nevada, and Dakota without that exclusion of slavery for which alone they had come to power. This party of the higher law, not panoplied, but weighted, with executive power, also cringed to the slaveholders for the sake of the Union. For that they were ready to occupy the ignominious position which the Democrats had occupied from 1844 until 1860. But the insolence of the slave power and the wisdom of the masses of the North saved them. There came the attack on Fort Sumter, and the Northern sky lightened up. The abolitionists, the truest statesmen of the time, had deeply impressed the morality of the North. The people rose with a splendid efficiency, and, in God's providence, the day for compromise was past. Lincoln, though not a bold leader, was a wise man. Though he would, as he himself very explicitly said, let his black fellow-men remain in slavery for the sake of the Union, he was rejoiced when, to the North, Union at last came to mean abolition. And he showed incomparable skill in dealing with this sentiment, now leading, now following it.

During the war and the days of reconstruction the Democratic party was the usual party in opposition. I can not pause to describe its career from its defeat in 1860 until the revival of its traditional policy in 1874. I must say, however, that very insufficient justice has been done to the patriotism of the great mass of Democrats during the Civil War. The Union could never have been restored but for their general and effective loyalty. If during the war there had been no constitutional opposition from that party, if in its ranks there had not been at least two fifths of the loyal people of the North, the Union would have been restored shorn of some of its chief merits, and with a framework very different from that which had been set up by the fathers, and which so wonderfully survived the flame and destruction of our great struggle.

In 1874 the Democratic party, having in part recovered from the demoralization of the war and the absurd candidacy of Mr. Greeley, was taken firmly in hand by Samuel J.

Tilden and his coadjutors. Though not in every respect an inspiring figure, Gov. Tilden was deeply imbued with the traditional principles of his party. He had been an admiring pupil of Van Buren, who had himself been a disciple of Jefferson. He had joined Van Buren in the Free-Soil revolt of 1848 against the dictation of the slave-holders. When that revolt had failed, he had returned to the party, and there stayed during the unionist period of the Democratic party which I have described. He was elected Governor of New York in 1874 upon a platform whose distinctly and tersely drawn propositions were completely Jeffersonian. The Federal Government must not issue fiat paper; it must not promote manufactures or any kind of business at the expense of those not engaged in it; it must not meddle with the affairs of the several States; a civil-service law must destroy those evils of patronage which, however much practiced by Democrats, had been among the most flagrant violations of Democratic principles. With Tilden's success there came into the administration of the Democratic party a body of younger men, of superior intelligence, of great sincerity, and warmly devoted to the traditions of the party. Indeed, their devotion was one of the most honorable and effective tributes paid him. After the electoral controversy of 1877, and his failure—through a scandalous and criminal perversion of the popular will—to actually reach the White House, reaction from a steadfast course set in, as it had more than once before. In 1880 the Democratic party, shrinking from its own principles and abandoning its own leader, met a defeat not altogether undeserved. When at last, in March, 1885, it secured the Presidency, the business and practical requirements of administration of a great machine of Government long set up were so great, and the temper of Mr. Cleveland and his associates was rightly so practical, that considerable time elapsed before Democratic theories could be put in practice or even very distinctly enunciated. In a series of veto messages, however, in the latter part of his administration, and especially in his famous tariff messages of 1887, and in his annual message of 1888, after his defeat, there was clear and definite return to the traditional principles of the Democratic party. He enunciated, in a phrase of his own, the sum of them all when he said that it was for the citizen to support the Government, and not for the Government to support the citizen.

I feel bound not to deal in this address with the merits of

the differences between the parties in our own time. But my story would be fragmentary if I were to leave unnoticed the relation of the questions of our current politics to the traditional principles of the Democratic party. Those questions seem to be the tariff, silver coinage, pensions, large expenditures by the Federal Government, and bounties or subsidies for steamship lines, producers of raw sugar, and others. At least these are the questions to which public opinion seems nowadays to require that party platforms shall make references more or less sincere. Apart from all theories of governmental action, I am perfectly aware that on each side of every one of these questions much of a practical character is said which impresses intelligent and practical men. But to-night I can do no more than point out that at the bottom of each of these questions is the old question whether the Government at Washington can and ought, by its affirmative action, to help a portion of its citizens to greater pecuniary prosperity.

Is not this true about the tariff question? Are not ways and means committees asked to protect, or warned not to protect, by artificial restrictions, this industry or that industry from a foreign competition which is said to prevent its making money which it would otherwise make? Whenever the passage of a tariff bill at Washington is politically possible, do not the manufacturer and the importer apply their energy and skill and the resources of their influence to the securing of supposed help, or the escape from supposed injury, to come from Washington? The citizen engaged in one of these callings is compelled to believe that, as a condition of success, he must, to his own industry and intelligence, and the free exercise of his own faculties, bring other help. He must secure in one way or another such wisdom and beneficence as may come from Senator Aldrich of Rhode Island, Senator Carlisle of Kentucky, the Hon. Bourke Cockran of New York, and others, among whom surely is neither last nor least the Hon. John M. Clancy, well known to all of you as the representative at Washington of the district in which we live, and who is, must we not assume, the special protector of our varied interests and callings. It is for these gentlemen and their associates to decide which of the thousand industries of the country are to be promoted, which to be discouraged, and as to each of them to what extent. There may, of course, be economic or social reasons for a protective tariff which overcome the

difficulty thus suggested. However this may be, the tariff discussion ultimately involves the question whether one citizen or set of citizens may rightly look to Congress to compel by force of law his fellow-citizens to help him, or whether he shall be left, with such reason, foresight, and industry as God has given him, to help himself. There are Democrats who are protectionists. There are Republicans who are free-traders. But the Democrat who is a protectionist adheres rather to the form or organization of his party than to its essential principle.

The great parties of the United States have never differed as to the duty of the Federal Government to coin money. So that the mere question whether or not silver shall be as freely coined as gold does not involve the great difference of principle between the two parties. But we know that few people are interested in the abstract question of bimetallism dealt with by the economists. If the free coinage of silver could take place only at a rate which would make a silver dollar equal to the existing gold dollar, there would be no agitation for free silver. The reason which influences the masses of people—outside of the few silver-producing States, who demand free coinage—is the fact, perfectly realized, that the silver dollar proposed to be coined would be intrinsically worth far less than a gold dollar, and that, when coinage becomes free, the only circulating dollar would be a silver dollar worth far less than the present dollar, a dollar to be obtained for far less labor—that is to say, at far less cost. This is the very motive which underlay the paper-money mania after the war, in whose abatement seventeen years ago our friend here to-night, General Woodford, did in Ohio, but for the whole country, so fine and lasting a service. The Government at Washington seems to the citizen who does not observe the real springs of power to be illimitably powerful; it can by law create a dollar of one hundred cents out of a bit of paper or out of seventy cents worth of silver. So the pressed and worried planter in the South, or the farmer in the Mississippi valley, does not greet with each morning the sun or rain of heaven and proceed to work out his freedom from debt, with the fruitfulness of those elements, and through his own efforts and frugality. He is tempted instead—by the illusion against which the Democratic party, whenever loyal to its own principles, will firmly protest—to appeal to the mysterious but imaginary deity who sits enshrined under

the dome on that Capitoline Hill which overlooks the Potomac.

In the abuses of the pension system I believe is to be found the most widely corrupting of these interferences or beneficences of the Washington Government. I do not for a moment mean that because some measure of corruption attends the exercise of this or any other governmental function, for that reason alone the function itself ought not to exist. In all of these matters we are to deal more or less empirically with the net result, whether of good or evil. To those who gave or risked their lives in defense of their country, their country surely owes a lasting debt. Where in such patriotic service wounds were received or special hardships borne, or permanent injury inflicted, doubtless the country ought not to measure its tribute with a niggardly hand. Here again, however, it is neither justice nor true generosity to relieve any man, who can help himself, of the necessity of doing so. It seems to be the conclusion of the most distinguished and patriotic soldiers themselves that the payment of pensions has passed beyond any relation to patriotic service. So far has this gone that the proposition is now seriously made that pensions shall be paid to those who ignominiously deserted from the service of their country. It is, I believe, no exaggeration to say that in the average country village of the North the payment of a pension is in large manner regarded simply as a largess paid by this supreme and mysterious power at Washington to the man or woman who is in pecuniary need, and with but a nominal relation to any service ever rendered the country. A friend of mine traveling through southern Illinois tells me that he was struck by the large number of idle, shiftless men standing at the railway stations as every train passed. He asked the general manager of the road for an explanation, and was told that the spectacle was due to the zeal and skill of the local congressman—a Democrat in politics, I think—in procuring pensions at Washington. In every village of his district there were many men well able to work whose lives would have been far more wholesome and happy if they had been at work, but who were receiving pensions sufficient to maintain them in complete and corrupting idleness. The trip mornings and evenings to see the trains pass was their only occupation. In every such village one will see carried to its extreme the idea that the Government is to support the

citizen rather than that the citizen is to support the Government.

The same principle is involved in the advocacy of great expenditures by the Government. Very many patriotic citizens, doubtless intelligent citizens, see something fine in the expenditure of a thousand million dollars by a single Congress. That every dollar which goes to Washington must have come from the toil and economy of some citizen —and he the citizen who, because he is industrious and economical, ought to be the first care of the Government —is forgotten. Or, if it be remembered, the patriotic citizen who applauds congressional liberality has in mind the famous image of the Government as a beneficent sun drawing up by its beams from the earth the moisture and vapor in order to return it in fruitful showers—the idea of a paternal government, liberal and generous to its children.

Perhaps a more striking illustration of the principle in contemporaneous politics is seen in bounties or subsidies. A citizen owns a steamship line. Under the Democratic theory he is told to depend upon his own energy, foresight, and skill for the success of his venture. If a steamship line will not pay, the Democrats say, or rather ought to say, that he ought not to run it. His fellow-citizen earning a scanty living from a farm in Hamilton County is no more bound to contribute to the expense of running the steamship line than the steamship owner is bound to bear the expense of the guano which might perhaps bring to the farmer a living out of his unfertile soil. To the steamship owner, however, there is the picture of an overflowing Treasury at Washington, and of his personal needs, real or supposititious, mingled with which is probably a vague, general notion of the benefits which his countrymen will derive from his success in running steamships. So now we have begun the system of giving bounties to the producers of commodities. To tap the trees of Vermont and give us each spring our maple sugar, to raise the sugar-cane in Louisiana, to attempt to raise sorghum in Kansas—these have been deemed by the law-makers acts of such peculiar merit that the citizen doing them should be permitted to lay some of his burden of life upon the shoulders of his nine hundred and ninety-nine fellows. Not, however, that he consciously proposes to make the lives of others harder, that his may be easier. In his mind is merely the figure of this great and fruitful

power at Washington, which will help him instead of leaving him to help himself.

I ought perhaps to add to this list of current questions the suppression, real or supposed, of the negro vote at the South by fraud or violence. The division in the Republican party, whether this can be dealt with by law, leaves one in doubt whether this be really a question of current politics. Assuming it to be so, you will observe that here again is involved one of the principles upon which the Democratic party was founded. The remedy sought is the interference of the Federal Government in the local administration of the State. Such interference is perhaps sometimes necessary; and so are revolutions sometimes necessary. But even when necessary, such interference is, in the mind of those holding the principles of Democracy, attended with the evil of encouraging citizens to look to a remote power to cure their ills, instead of looking to themselves to cure them.

I should be sorry indeed to have it supposed from anything I have said, or from any omission in my recital, that I do not recognize the great services of the Republican party and of its predecessors. I have no doubt that if neither the Republican nor the Federal nor the Whig party had existed, there would have been raised up a party to perform a function absolutely necessary to the welfare of the state and different from that which the Democratic party has performed. Although I believe that self-relying strength and manhood of the citizen ought to be the most precious thing in the eyes of a wise statesman or law-maker, it would be short-sighted indeed to ignore the necessity for superior organization, for order, for systematic executive detail, for all that sort of public work which Hamilton, the Federalist, in his time, and Gallatin, the Democrat, after him, and in our day John Sherman, the Republican, have done so wonderfully well. Whether the Republican party live or die, there will here and in every constitutional country always be a political party urging Government to disregard the cold and selfish logic of *doctrinaires*, and to help to the utmost every good cause and every needy citizen. There always ought, in my opinion, to be a party which looks with favor upon the constructive functions of Government, and another (or the same) which stands ready to appeal to the "higher law" when it is sought to stifle justice and right and betray humanity in the name of public order or of adherence to

sound maxims of Government. Such services the Republican party has at times honorably and usefully performed. No one should wish its death, lest some need, like that of forty years ago, again come upon the American people. It is, however, for the Democratic party to bring every proposition for taxation, for governmental work or expenditure, to tests in which the Republican party and its predecessors have not genuinely believed. The tests are like these: Is this really a thing which the citizen himself can not well do? Is this a thing which the neighbors of this citizen—not a remote and impersonal being of unlimited power at Washington, but his specific neighbors, the farmer, the carpenter, the laborer, the blacksmith, the merchant, the lawyer, living near by or far off within the United States—any American, who contributes, directly or indirectly, to the support of the Government, ought to be compelled for his sake to do for him? Is this work which Mr. Smith and Mr. Jones and Mr. Robinson, called by the methods of our politics from their homes to sit in painted chambers at Washington, are competent and disposed wisely and justly to do? Let us dismiss the term Government with its vague meaning and illusions. Let us see in its place the specific human beings who are to act under its name. Through every act of beneficence of the Government let us observe the corresponding burdens which, in the performance of that act, the Government has been compelled to lay upon the shoulders of other citizens. It is the historical duty of the Democratic party—a duty frequently ignored, sometimes utterly abandoned—to subject every proposition for either restrictive or constructive work to these tests. And whether the Democratic party be the greater or lesser of the political parties of our land, whether in general we owe to it a greater or less gratitude than to its competitors, I can not believe that thinking and patriotic citizens will not take care that this work shall in every age be done by some political organization.*

I am tempted, though I have really finished the outline of my discussion, not to close without touching upon a social feature of the partisan differences in our part of the United States. I remember as a child, during the Civil War or just after it, hearing a Connecticut lady, a visitor at my mother's house, in some statement parenthetically use the expression "—because, you know, no *respectable* people are

* The remainder of the Address was not actually delivered.

Democrats." I hardly think the sentiment was cordially received in our house; but the Yankee dame did no more than repeat a saying common in her land ever since the last century. Among this very audience there are, I suspect, some who have long seen a wide chasm between respectability and Democratic partisanship. It is right to admit that this belief which one finds even to-day in the Northern States, unintelligent and silly as perhaps it generally is, has at times, and in some communities, had its origin in the misbehavior of Democratic officials or unworthy administration of the party. But, as like faults have, to say the least, quite as often and as widely characterized the successive rivals of the Democratic party, the faults do not adequately explain the preponderance of this sort of sentiment against the latter party. The true explanation, in my opinion, lies in certain historical facts—the very facts which underlay something said to me years ago in a bit of conversational exaggeration by a distinguished man of large political experience. "The reason," he said, "which keeps me in the Democratic party is not that I think it better than the Republican party, for I don't think it is so. It is that nowadays most Americans of superior political intelligence as well as conscience are in the Democratic party; and I would rather be in their company." If the remark had really represented, as I knew it did not, the whole ground of my friend's political faith, I should have admired it no more than I did in my childhood the sharp saying from Connecticut. My friend had in mind for the moment only the drift to the Democratic party, since the questions of the war were settled, of men given to philosophical or historical generalizations in politics—men whose intellectual independence was not daunted by seeing that three fourths, or more, of well-to-do people at the North, the people who in English political and economic literature are called the "upper middle classes," were in the Republican party. The three things which formerly drove comfortable men with accumulated property, but lacking breadth or force of political view, to either the Republican or Whig or Federal party, or kept them there, were the very things which have attracted to the Democratic party not only the masses of laboring men, but reformers and scholars of a particular trend of thought.

First there was the Democratic insistence that political power rightly and safely belonged to Americans without

any preference of those superior in property or intelligence. It is a century since this insistence drove a large part of "respectability," so-called, into the Federalist ranks, especially in the New England and Middle States, and attracted to the Democratic ranks the masses of poor men and, especially in and near seaports, the great majority of immigrants. The Democratic belief has, however, ceased to be lacking in "respectability"; it has become axiomatic in American public life. Democrats established universal suffrage against the angry and alarmed contempt of a majority of those we should perhaps call the most important people. But nearly all Americans, whether important or unimportant, now see that, whatever may be its incidental or temporary evils, universal suffrage has led and is leading to a broader, sounder, and safer dependence upon public opinion. The present Republican party, no less than the Democratic party, has adopted the theories of this character once so savagely resisted by the predecessors of the Republican party. But down to this very evening vast numbers of citizens of means and position in the North are Republicans solely because their grandfathers disliked the political creed which brought, as they said, the "rabble" into an equality with them.

The second cause impelling "respectability" into Whig and Republican ranks was the firm resistance of sumptuary legislation by the Democratic party. It said to Americans: You can not by law make men moral. The attempt to do so tends to a tyranny which, however exalted its original motive, must become enervating and immoral. To no government other than that of Heaven is the prayer to be addressed: Lead us not into temptation. True morality and robust soundness of life are not helped—they are hindered and prevented—when the citizen asks the Government to protect either his neighbor or himself from his own tendency to vice, or when the majority restrains by law the abuses of innocent things. Thirty years ago, therefore, the Democratic party resolutely opposed prohibition by law of the liquor traffic; and to-day that opposition is approved by the overwhelming preponderance of intelligence and virtue in American life. It is only a third or fourth party—comparatively insignificant and not growing, in spite of the nobility and beauty of character and motive to be found among its members—which still advocates the regulation by statute of private morals. Nevertheless, in a considerable

degree the personal composition at the North of the two great parties is, to the present time, the result of the fact that a generation ago nearly all the liquor dealers and their adherents, from motives of self-preservation, entered the Democratic party, and of the other fact that at the same time a great body of sincere and pure though mistaken men saw in the Democratic defense of that personal liberty to choose the worse rather than the better, which an all-wise God gives every man, a defense of intemperance and a wicked indifference to its dreadful results.

A favorite caricature of the Democratic party was for years the figure of a drunken, ragged Irishman brandishing a shillalah. The drunkenness of the man, his poverty, and his foreign origin, each represented a Democratic principle which once was regarded with horror by the majority of respectable and well-to-do Americans in the North, but which is now conceded by the American people, with but insignificant dissent, to be a true foundation for a broad and enduring commonwealth. Drunkenness was the false picture drawn by narrow, zealous men, of the morality which results from free self-respect and self-guarding, rather than from the constraint of laws. Poverty signified that inferior social and business position had, in the topsy-turvy of American politics, acquired power which should have been reserved to the "well-born" of the early Federalists. The Irish birth reminded "native Americans" that political rights which should have belonged solely to them had been captured by foreigners.

The State Rights, or home-rule, theory of the Democratic party drew to it the majority of citizens in the slave-holding States when the agitation for abolition began. The party was originally not pro-slavery, but rather the contrary. When its condemnation of interference with domestic institutions of the States had very greatly increased the proportion of Southern slave-owners in its membership, they acquired over it a domination which, between 1840 and 1860, perverted its principles, as I have described, and justly led to its overthrow. After slavery perished, the original Democratic principle of State control of State concerns remained a true and vital principle of the republic. Still, in the light of all that happened in this land from the Democratic refusal of a presidential nomination to Van Buren in 1844, because he opposed the extension of slavery, to the glorious decree of emancipation nineteen years later,

Democrats can not treat as absurd or unfounded so much of the surviving prejudices of "respectability" against their party as took their rise in the hatred of slavery. For, although in its beginning the abolition sentiment was far from "respectable," it became "respectable" in and by its triumph. Democrats rightly suffered from the national perception at the last of the truth that the rights of men, black as well as white, are cared for by a "higher law" than even the Federal Constitution. Every sensible and patriotic American, whatever his party, should rejoice at the decay of this prejudice, now that the jealousy of Federal power is no longer a shield for the ancient iniquity of slavery.

Ought I not, before closing an address made on a Sunday evening and in a Congregational meeting-house, to say one thing further? Is it not true that in the creed of Democracy there is found the same principle which animated the religious ancestors of those who regularly worship under this roof? The glory of the Reformation of the sixteenth century was that it imposed upon every man, according to his own conscience and his own intelligence, a responsibility to his Maker which he could not rightly put upon other men or upon a church. The stupendous and lasting influence of the Puritans, unlovely and tyrannical as was much of their theocracy, arose from its exaltation of the freedom and privileges of the citizen, and of his responsibilites. Jefferson and his Virginian associates did the same work when they destroyed the dominance of aristocracy in that country of planters. The best social development of modern times among civilized nations, and among people of all religious beliefs, is toward the independence and responsibility of the individual citizen and of the single community, even if such independence and responsibility lead, as at times they do, to selfishness, real or seeming, and to jealousies and disorders which, necessary as they are, sometimes become mean.

We know, however—and I now at the last return to the sentiment with which I began this address—that no strength of government, no efficiency of administration, no conscientious care by rulers for the citizens under them, will, in the long run, bring to the welfare and happiness of the country a tithe of what will come from the independent character of the citizen himself, from his pride in his self-support, from his jealousy of interference, and, to sum it all up, from his refusal, whether by device or the brute power of majorities, to cast his burden upon other men. When the citizens of

a commonwealth are of this type, we need have no great concern about government. It is because effect follows cause that from such men will come sense and prudence and integrity in public business, efficiency in political action, and strength and thoroughness in administration. So long as the Democratic party in its life and practice stands for this theory of government, it will be a power for lasting public good. So long it will deserve, and I believe it will enjoy, a fitting success and honor.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISCUSSION.

HON. STEWART L. WOODFORD:

I shall not attempt any criticism of one of the most admirable political papers to which I have ever listened—a paper so judicial in tone, if somewhat misleading in its inferences, that nothing but a very careful study and analysis of it would be just to the speaker or instructive to the audience.

Political parties represent great popular forces, and in every popular government, whether it be Monarchical, Republican, or purely Democratic in form, there must be two parties. Sometimes these parties represent opposing principles or policies, and sometimes they become merely agencies by which one man or set of men endeavors to win power as against another set. To say that the Democratic party has been the only permanently existing political organization since the origin of our Government has always seemed to me somewhat inaccurate. The original party led by Thomas Jefferson was known as the Republican party. There has been as much change from that name to "Democratic" as from "Federalist" to "Republican," and I have never assented to the proposition that the parties of to-day are lineal descendants of the Jeffersonian Republicans and the Federalists. My friend will admit that Jefferson was a protectionist So pronounced and positive was he in his belief in the duty of the Federal Government to lay imposts to protect American manufactures that we might quote from his letters in support of the McKinley bill. That Jefferson was a consistent opponent of slavery our friend admitted. If the Democratic party of to-day is a lineal descendant from the Republican party of Washington's administration, it has failed to continue to be the representative of the purposes and principles of the original organization.

It is a somewhat singular fact that when the Revolution had been ended and the struggle for the formation of this Government began, the two opposing forces were these: one which proposed to make the Government strong enough to stand, and one which would have made it so weak that it would have no cohesion. And if the Democratic party of to-day is the successor of the party which sought to form a government too weak to live, it only repeated its original endeavors in the struggle from 1861 to 1865. If the dividing line is the tariff—and I think it is—it is a singular fact that the ablest free-

trade speech ever made in the United States Senate was made by Daniel Webster before he became a protectionist, and the ablest protectionist speech was made by Calhoun before he became a free-trader. The interests of the sections changed, and the advocates crossed lines.

There are three great facts in the history of the Democratic party which I wish to note. First, if the Democratic party be the same as the original Republican party, it opposed the construction of a Federal government that could live. The Federalist party took control and set in motion our present Government. When this was done, swerving from its original idea, the Federal party died. But I hardly think this fact will warrant the inference that its principles did not continue to live. Every man who says "I am an American," who looks with love and reverence at our flag, who reads with pride the story of the republic, and who is proud of his citizenship, is paying tribute to the grand old party of Washington and Hamilton, that gave our Government its shape and commanded the recognition and respect of other nations. That party, proving false to its principles, died; and I am glad it did. I wish that all parties proving false to their principles might die—though I fear that would involve the loss of the present Democratic party.

The historical facts concerning the struggle between slavery and freedom were truly stated by our friend. It is the misfortune of his party that, as it fought against a strong Government at the beginning, it got bound to the chariot-wheels of slavery at the last. I concede that there was a purpose of unionism in its efforts, and that many clung to it in hopes of saving the Union and avoiding the bloodshed of civil war. I believe with Mr. Shepard that the greatest honor belongs to one wing of the Abolition party, but I doubt whether any Democrat of that period would have acknowledged it. I doubt, also, whether any one will candidly commend the attitude of the Democratic party during the period of reconstruction.

It is fortunate for the laboring men of this country that thoughtful men of both parties are united in favor of the kind of money that shall honestly measure the value of labor and of commodities. That is a question below all parties, underlying the perpetuity of society itself. My friend has my sympathy, for the majority of his party in Congress doesn't agree with him on this question. The question at issue next fall will be the tariff. I doubt if we could make any tariff, or have none at all, without affecting the manufacturing and labor interests of the country. Local and personal interests are bound to come in. England taxes only the things which she does not produce; and no other system can leave out the local, personal interests. We must either tax only the things we do not produce or tax others, and thus

affect production—there is the dividing line. There is a disposition in both parties to evade an honest discussion—to secure local advantage from the way in which the subject affects different localities. I hope the lines will be drawn, sharp and firm, in platforms and by the candidates. I thank you for listening, and I thank our distinguished friend for his able paper. He shows a spirit which rises above partisanship; and I have no fear of the rule of a Democrat who loves his country more than he does his party.

MR. SHEPARD, in reply: My tongue ought to be tied and my lips sealed by General Woodford's kind remarks; but I am tempted to reply to one or two of his points. I do not accept the statement, widely and commonly made, that Jefferson was a protectionist. The question of protection, as we understand it, had hardly entered the American mind in Jefferson's time. Hamilton's tariff we would to-day not call a protective tariff. Five per cent is vastly different from a hundred or a hundred and twenty per cent. It would require a long time fully to discuss this historical question, and I now simply express my dissent from the statement as to Jefferson's tariff views. In the second place, I dissent completely from the statement that the Federal Constitution was adopted in spite of Democratic opposition. The draft of the Constitution was chiefly Madison's, and Madison was a Democrat. The "Federalist" itself was the joint production of Hamilton, Madison, and Jay. The Constitution as adopted was an utterly different thing from that proposed by the Federalist party.

General Woodford could not refrain from extending his sympathy to me for the attitude of the Democrats in Congress on the silver question. From 1885 to 1889, however, we had a Democratic administration, and during those four years not one step was taken toward debasing the currency. Then a Republican administration was restored, and we were at once in trouble over the silver and currency questions. The present law as to the coinage of silver is an extreme violation of sound principles; yet it was passed by two Republican houses and signed by a Republican President, to promote the interests of a few States against the interests of all. The present silver mania in the South and West followed the cowardly surrender made by the present President and the last Congress. Had the attitude of the President and Congress been what it was during the previous Democratic administration, we should not now have every great business interest disturbed by the silver question.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY

BY

HON. ROSWELL G. HORR

COLLATERAL READINGS SUGGESTED:

The Federalist; Brown and Strauss's Dictionary of American Politics; Cooper and Fenton's American Politics; Houghton's Conspectus; Blaine's Twenty Years in the American Congress; Wilson's Rise and Fall of the Slave Power in the United States; Greeley's American Conflict; A Year of Republicanism; Personal Memoirs of U. S. Grant; Herndon's Life of Abraham Lincoln; Holland's Life of Abraham Lincoln; Nicolay and Hay's Lincoln; Messages of Presidents Lincoln, Grant, Hayes, Garfield, Arthur, and Harrison.

THE REPUBLICAN PARTY.

By Hon. Roswell G. Horr.

I HOPE to be able to confine my remarks in the treatment of this subject to the scientific method so well understood by the people who meet in this house. But my entire relation to politics has been of the rough-and-tumble sort, and I may occasionally slide off into expressions not strictly scientific. If so, I beg beforehand to be excused.

The question was once asked Renan, "What constitutes a state, what makes a nation?" His reply in substance was, A nation is a combination of people who have certain interests in common, and who have labored and suffered together in the past and are ready to labor and suffer in the future, and to die, if need be, to promote the common good. Patriotism, or love of country, is simply love of family broadened a little. In the development of the human race, the first social organism is the family, headed by the patriarch; then comes the tribe or clan, headed by the chief; then the combination called a state or nation, headed by a ruler called king, or emperor, or governor, or president. Back of all this, as a cause for the evolution of governmental institutions, must lie the defense of one's own fireside. Patriotism is but another form of fighting for the family.

In the commencement of all nations, especially when the power comes from the people, political parties exist. I know it is common to note that there must be two great parties, and only two. Parties exist only because people, surrounded by different circumstances and impelled by diverse interests, will take different views of the same questions, and I do not see why there may not be more than two parties. History bears me out in this presumption. No doubt, as we were told by the gentleman who preceded me in this course, when our Government was organized and very early in the organization, there were two distinct parties: one the Federal and the other the Republican, or, as it was afterward called, the Democratic. The Federal party was headed by Alexander Hamilton and the Republican party by Thomas Jefferson. No doubt our present form of

government is in a certain sense a compromise between these two different parties. But I think any careful student of history will admit that, taken as a whole, the Constitution embodies the theories of Hamilton and not those of Thomas Jefferson. The doctrine of Jefferson was that all power should be left with the States. He and his party advocated throughout the doctrine that sovereignty should be left to the States, that all laws passed by the national Congress should be ratified by the States. Hamilton claimed that they had come together in the constitutional convention to form a nation; that on national questions the nation should be supreme; and that a law passed by Congress should be as binding upon the States that opposed it as upon the others. I admit that Hamilton had some ideas on tenure of office, etc., that were ignored. But the Republicans of that day did not get their doctrine into the Constitution. It took all the ability of Hamilton and the rest to get the Constitution ratified, simply because it did not embody the Republican principles. The Democrats are right in tracing the Democratic party of the present day to the Republican party of 1798; but its principles were ignored by the convention and found no lodgment in the Constitution. The able lecturer of two weeks ago convinced me that there had been two or three times in our past history when the Democratic party ought to have died. A good many people seem to think it is to the credit of the party to which I stand opposed that it is venerable. I am not aware that age, when it comes to questions of social life, politics, or religious belief, is necessarily a badge of respectability. My impression is that the oldest Christian church on earth is the worst. Organization perpetuates error as well as truth; this is a fundamental truth of evolution. I admit that the party to which I belong is young. I know it is, because I was present at its birth. My first presidential vote was for the old Abolition or Free-Soil party, my second for the Republican party; and since then I have steadily voted with that party, taken part in its conventions, and helped to frame its platforms; and if I do not give you its history accurately it is because my memory is at fault.

We all agree that the Republican party came into existence in 1852–'54—actively in 1854—but if any one thinks on that account that its principles are youthful, he doesn't understand them. The doctrine that this Government of

the United States is a nation, that laws passed by Congress are supreme, and that in all matters of national legislation no State laws are to be observed—that was the doctrine that prevailed away back when the Constitution was formed, that was ingrafted into it as against Thomas Jefferson's doctrine of State Rights.

Another great principle of the Republican party is also as old as the Constitution. As a party it has always been in favor of internal improvements—of the National Government's looking after harbors, encouraging modes of intercommunication, building up the commerce of the nation. That doctrine is as old as the nation—it is the old doctrine of George Washington and the Federalist party. The Republican party is also in favor of honest money, and that doctrine isn't new; it is as old as the nation. Also, we believe in so levying duties on imports as to protect American industries and institutions—but neither is that a new principle in our politics.

The second law signed by Washington, and drafted by Hamilton, was a protective tariff bill. And it was the same in purpose as our protective tariff bills are now. Our friend the other night said the tariff of Hamilton and Washington was not a protective tariff, because the per cent was only seven instead of forty-two—or whatever it may be. I was surprised at the conclusion, for the question whether a tariff is protective or not is not a question of per cent. When wages here and in Europe were almost identical, as was the case in our earlier history, seven per cent was just as much protective as fifty per cent is now. Wages have been increasing since then in this country, and now we have to make the tariff higher to cover the difference. Whenever, in discussing questions of this kind, our opponents talk of per cents, watch out! they are covering up something. A man might say that New York city gained in a certain time twenty-five per cent in population, and the gain might be 400,000. Another place—a little burg—might increase one thousand per cent, and continue insignificant. Avoid getting into difficulty with per cents.

Now for the history of the Republican party. How did it come into existence? How did it happen to be founded? I do not differ with my friend of the Democratic party in that regard. In 1850 the slave power became so arrogant, made such demands, that the people of the North began to question the wisdom of putting that institution into control of the

destinies of the nation. A few Abolitionists had been talking for twenty years, but had made little headway. It was the avarice of the people in the South that finally drove the best people in the North to question the propriety of allowing the slave power to continue.

The Whig party went to pieces when Pierce was elected President. There was a Free-Soil party that came into existence some years before on the one notion that slavery should be kept within bounds, and not extend into any new territory. When the Whig party dissolved, the great body of that party in the North joined with the Free-Soil party to form the new party—the Republican. A large number—a very large number—of the Democratic party in the North, tired of the constant aggression of the slave power, also joined us. The new party was made up then of the Free-Soil party, the Northern Whigs, who believed that slavery should be hemmed in, and the Democrats who were of the same mind; and that left the two parties of 1856 composed of two elements—the one of all those, chiefly in the North, who believed slavery to be wrong, and sought for its restriction to the territory it then occupied, and the other of the mass of the people of the South and a large number of Northern sympathizers, who believed slavery to be right, and who sought for its protection and extension. Besides these, there was a small number of conservative Whigs, who reorganized under the name of the American party, and nominated Millard Fillmore as their candidate for President.

We went into the fight in '56 on three items—free soil, free speech, and free men—and the Republican party ran John C. Frémont, its first presidential candidate, on that platform, and was beaten. But its enemies found that for the first time there was a party in the field built on moral principles, and that it meant business. The defeat of Frémont was the Bunker Hill fight of the Republican party. At that time the Republican party became a living, active force. Aided by Southern slave-holders, Buchanan, in the next four years, had succeeded in completing the ruin of the Whig party, but had driven the great bulk of it into the new Antislavery party. His claims in behalf of the slave power were so preposterous that he split the Democratic party. One part attempted to nominate Jefferson Davis, and finally nominated Breckinridge; another, Douglas. With the Republican party united and the Democratic party divided, the election of Lincoln was assured two

months before the voting took place. Up to that time (1860) the Republican party had made only two contests, and now found itself in possession of this great Government. Then the very men at the South who had disrupted the Democratic party turned in and tried to destroy the nation; and to do it they had to reaffirm the doctrines of Jefferson—the very doctrines which our Democratic friends think so good—and they took their States out of the Union on the principles of Jefferson which had been defeated in the constitutional convention. Now, the question whether this nation was a rope of sand or a government was submitted to the trial of battle. Then a large portion of the Democratic party of the North that had voted for Douglas flew to arms and joined the Republican party or the army, and from the army went into the Republican ranks. So the Republican party was born of the effort to make a nation, and baptized in blood to make a stable government.

During the contest of 1860–1865 every member of the Republican party, early and late, was found standing by the old flag—not one wanting. New questions constantly arose during the struggle, but the question of the supremacy of the Union overshadowed all the rest. The tariff was not heard of as a political issue, because we had to levy duties to get money for the use of the Government, and the industries of the country, in spite of the devastations of war, sprung into existence with marvelous rapidity.

We had the solid South against us; we had a large class in the North which sympathized with them and gave all the aid and comfort they could, in a moral way, to the enemy. The first question was how to run a nation without money in the Treasury. We were bankrupt. Foreigners said the American nation was a thing of the past. The Republican party originated the greenbacks, which the Democrats asserted was a violation of the Constitution. The constitution which they think is constantly being violated is Jefferson's constitution—the one that did not pass. When the war was concluded the two parties remained in existence, and the Republican party had its own way largely, till it came to the difficult question of reconstruction. This was finally adjusted on the principle of forgiveness, and the question about which the parties next divided was that of giving the suffrage to the colored man. Whether it were wisely done or not is not the question now; it was

done simply because the Republicans at that time believed it to be a matter of justice. In 1872 we got our first set-back by the opposition's nominating one of the best of men and one of the straightest Republicans that ever breathed, Horace Greeley. Our friend the other night said that was a blunder; yet, though it elected its candidate, the blow the Republican party received then was one of the severest.

The next new question before the people was the resumption of specie payments. We had used paper for currency until people believed that paper was money. The Greenback party came into existence on the notion that the country could run its finances by managing a paper-mill. That party was taken charge of largely by the Democrats in order to beat their old enemy, the Republicans, and they adopted largely the wild notions of that party. The Republican party believed it was time to return to specie payments, and that cost the Republican party a great number of its men. During the use of inflated money the people embarked in large speculations. There was a period of great enhancement of values and apparent prosperity. When the shrinkage commenced, a large number of business men shrank out of existence as business men, and that cost the Republican party an army of its firm friends. Yet we were so sure that we were right that we went on, in the face of much adverse talk, and resumed specie payments—and to the present time that has been the rule of the nation.

I have said nothing yet of the great economic questions that now divide the two great parties. In the platform of the party that nominated Greeley nothing was said upon the tariff question. It was called a "local issue," and relegated to the congressional districts. It was a live issue in 1880, both parties taking a square stand. In the platform of that year—on which Hancock was run—the Democrats put a new word. They believed in a "tariff for revenue only." That word "only" cost them the presidency. They avoided it in the next campaign, and the Democrats came into power. Mr. Cleveland coming to power ended the slavery discussion and the issues growing out of reconstruction. In 1888 his party, under his leadership, again took a strong stand in favor of free trade, and for the first time in the history of the nation we had a square stand-up fight on the question of free trade and protection; and the Republicans won, simply on that question as to how the duties should be levied. We had only three things to talk about—honest

money, a protective tariff, and an honest ballot. I speak of all these issues as matters within my own experience. Historically, I know I am right, because I was there.

To-day we confront again the same enemy. The two parties stand opposed to each other merely on the one great question—the system of a protective tariff, adopted by Washington, believed in by Jefferson, taught by Andrew Jackson, advocated by Webster and Clay, the war cry of the Whigs, and the principle to which the Republican party to-day stands committed with unbroken ranks.

Speaking before an ethical association, I am expected to treat this subject in its ethical bearings. I am glad to have this opportunity.

Ethically, I have some reasons for believing in the Republican party. I believe in the doctrine of protection as a matter of ethics. I believe it is the duty of a nation to so manage its affairs that each individual shall have an opportunity for the highest development. If men in the United States have a genius for making locomotives, there should be a place in the country to make locomotives. I would have everything made here that it is possible to make, in order to give opportunities of development to every one of our citizens. The doctrine of protection has its origin in the rational instinct of the human mind. It is taught to children and practiced toward them by their parents. The man who will not protect his family isn't fit to belong to any association. If he doesn't take care of his family himself, it is apt to be neglected—no one else will take care of it.

It is very elegant and altruistic—the doctrine that every one should work for every one else and do nothing for himself. If the whole world were working for me I would willingly work for them. But up to date, things are not managed on that plan.

I am a firm believer in the doctrine of development; whether I am an evolutionist or not depends on circumstances, and on what "evolution" means. I have been inclined to call myself a free lance; on religious questions, a freethinker. And in the course of my life I have learned that all the bigots of the world are not in the orthodox churches. Some of the worst bigots are men who think they are the broadest, and who call themselves "liberals" or "freethinkers." A bigot is not simply one who knows he's right; he must also know that every one else is wrong. I have discovered that people who differ from me have got

along as well and are just as good as I am, strange as it may seem. I spent a couple of weeks last summer in Utah, and for the first time met and mingled with thousands of Mormons. I never found a more devout set of people; their piety is marvelous—and their delusion keeps pace with it, in my judgment.

I have learned to be charitable toward people who differ with me, and I have the kindest feelings for my friends on the other side of this political question, though I am going to say something now that may hurt their feelings. Up to date, in my opinion, the members of the Republican party, taken as a whole, are on a little higher plane than the members of the Democratic party. They average up better. I do not claim that there are not honest, intelligent gentlemen among Democrats, but the culture, the elements that make society worth living in, gravitate toward the Republican party. From the standpoint of evolution, the Republican party has developed a little higher plane of humanity than our Democratic friends have yet reached. When we look at people by groups, individual cases count for little—we gather lessons worth learning. To illustrate: A year or two ago I lectured before an audience made up largely of Quaker ladies, and the picture of their pure faces has gone with me ever since. I have never examined their theology or their politics, and don't know whether they are all right or all wrong; but there is something living with them daily that has had its effect upon their faces. To a certain degree—to a less marked degree—I observe this difference between Democrats and Republicans. Looking at this audience, for example, I should judge that a large proportion of the people present were Republicans.

I have not in this talk addressed myself to the third party, to the Independents. I have the greatest respect for the Independent, if he is a real Independent, for one who will always vote for the best man, ignoring everything but the personal character of the candidates. But I believe a man, as a rule, can do more good by standing by one party—the one that has the best principles—than by withdrawing from all parties.

The Republican party is going into the coming presidential campaign on precisely the same principles which it has been advocating ever since it was born. We believe in a nation; we believe in internal improvements; we believe in human rights; we believe in an honest ballot, and

honest money, and in standing by the United States of America and building up her interests. No man can doubt where we stand on a single proposition. And we mean, before the campaign is over, to make our opponents state clearly where they stand. We do not propose to let them dodge a single issue. We are going in, not decrepit with age, for the party is still young; this our opponents admit. I remember that in 1884 it seemed for a few weeks as though the bottom had all dropped out, as if the old party was dead, but I have lived to see the party regain its strength. We believe in our doctrines, and have the courage and intellect to state them. We have seen the nation grow strong and prosperous under thirty years of Republican management—for the Democrats have had no opportunity to put their principles into operation.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISCUSSION.

HON. JOSEPH C. HENDRIX:

I am sure we have all enjoyed the amusing and original manner in which Mr. Horr has described the fortunes of the Republican party, and I must thank him, in the main, for being candid. One of these days, when the Republican *régime* is ended and the Democracy has returned to its own, Mr. Horr might well climb to the top of the Tribune building, and, looking out over the land, exclaim, in the words of the defeated French general: "And has Providence forgotten all that I have done for him?"

There is, nevertheless, a Democratic party. In 1888 there were 5,538,233 of the people who were a little below the average, or 98,017 more than there were in the superior Republican ranks. In 1884 there were 4,911,017 of those a little below the average, or 62,683 more than those a little above. And in the election in which you will pardon a Democrat for believing Tilden was elected President there were a quarter of a million more Democrats than Republicans. Now, if we are living in a free country—a country governed by the people, and all that—we ought to have some faith in the intelligence and patriotism of the majority. Mr. Horr told you that the Republicans believe in a very strong government. We think they do: in a strong, centralized government with great powers of interfering with the people. *We* believe in home rule—in the right and ability of the people to govern themselves. It is rather fortunate for this country that for sixty years the Constitution was interpreted by Democrats, so that to-day we are unable to see about us the minions of the Federal Government. Our police, our schools, our magistrates, are our own, and we see nothing but the Custom House and the forts in the harbor to remind us of the Central Government. We have a Democratic government because it has been in the hands of Democrats, and the Republicans have not yet been able to carry their theories into effect.

I take off my hat to the Republican party for its work in preserving the Union—by the help of Northern Democrats. The reason that the Democratic party went down at that time was that the property interests began to control its political policy, and if you took note of Mr. Horr's description of the influences at work to overthrow the Democratic party at the present day, you will see that the property interests are now uppermost in the Republican party. Mr. Horr said

that "ethically" he believed in protection. "Ethically" I believe that above all nations is humanity. Manhood is greater than the almighty dollar. If Mr. Horr believes in a stone wall between the United States and foreign nations, he should believe in a similar wall between New York and Brooklyn. He warned us that he was liable to slip into the rough-and-tumble style of oratory, and I think we recognized the old alarm bell in his statement that the fight in 1888 was between free trade and protection. I deny that the Democratic party is a party of free trade; I deny that the Mills bill is a free-trade measure, or that the late Democratic President is a free-trader. We insist on a revision of the tariff in the interest of the many and not of a few, and we are ready to meet our opponents on this issue. There is no such thing as a free-trade tariff. Protection begins in some form or other as soon as a duty is laid. We shall not live to see a direct tax prevail in this country; the tariff will continue, but we insist that we shall no longer sustain a war tariff in time of peace. We hear a great deal about "infant industries." Is it not about time to differentiate between infants and adults? We do not object to protecting the infants of our own generation if those of two generations ago can stand alone. We believe it to be logical and philosophical that the tariff should be laid for revenue, with incidental protection, bearing most severely on articles of luxury.

I am not surprised to find our friend touchy on the question of per cents. We can not get away from the fact that only nine per cent of the people are getting the direct benefit of the Republican party's system of protection. When it returned to power in 1889 its statesmen wanted to cover up the question of per cents when the Democrats tried to estimate the percentage of increase of the McKinley bill over the previous tariff. We believe in the Democratic party because it is based upon equality and philanthropy, because it has confidence in the possibilities of the human race, because it loves justice and abhors class legislation. The Republican idea of a strong government attracts to that party the money power opposed to the interests of the masses of the people. This is a country in which the majority should rule. By no specious device should the rights of the people be interfered with. There should be no special privileges. Democrats believe in having as little government as possible.

As to being a little below the average grade in intelligence, that is what the feudal barons said of the people in their day. Nevertheless, on all great problems the history of human evolution has shown that the people were right. To those of us who are true Americans and believers in human rights Democracy means something. We believe we have a heritage worth preserving, and are ready to extend a help-

ing hand to lift the whole human race up to a higher level. The Democratic theory is not "I am as good as you," but "Politically, you are as good as I am." No social privileges—political equality of the units of society—these are the questions of the hour. The history of the rise and growth of the Democracy is too long and bloody, its achievements are too sacred, for any discrimination to be made hereafter against any one on account of the turn of his speech, the cut of his coat, or the color of the soil on his hands.

"A man's a man for a' that"—

this is the creed of the Democracy.

MR. GEORGE E. WALDO:

It may be assumed, I think, that the tariff is the dividing issue between the parties at the present time. The great difference between them on that question is seen in the statement made by the gentleman who has just spoken—that only nine per cent of the people are benefited by protection. The claim of the Republican party is that not nine per cent only, but the whole country is benefited by the added wealth which protection creates, and without which the poor would be poorer and the wages of laboring men would be reduced. The tariff would find few supporters indeed if we did not believe it to be beneficial to all classes of the people.

Apart from this question, or taking a broader view in which this question is only incidental, in the light of the doctrine of evolution is there any reason why the Republican party should exist to-day? If the doctrine of evolution, as applied to society, means anything, it means advance, progress, and the Republican party has stood for nothing else in the history of this country. Every great reform since the Republican party was formed has been a Republican measure. The Democratic party is a party of conservatism, always opposed to the new. It started out with the idea that we should have no government. We can hardly take up a platform of that party since it came into existence without finding in it a protest against the powers of the national Government. That we have any Federal Government at all is owing to Hamilton and Washington and the opponents of the Democratic party. The supremacy of this Government was supported by the Whigs and sustained during the Civil War by the Republican party. The work of the Republican party is not yet done, if we believe in progress. The Democratic party has doubtless had its use in our history. If it were not for the conservatives, the radicals would tear everything to pieces. The conservatives are a drag, and perhaps help to keep us down to the right gait in our efforts to advance; but there is no

reason why we should give up to them. If we desire to see the country go on with internal improvements, if we love our country as a whole, and would see it developed in all its wonderful resources and possibilities, we must stand by the Republican party.

MR. HENRY S. BELLOWS:

I appreciate the statement made by the first speaker, that this is not an ordinary political debate, and that the line of discussion in such a debate is not proper here. Like him, I am accustomed to political controversy, and if I fail to keep within the proper course I hope you may have for me the same charity as for him. I assume that the most of this audience are Republicans. I was much interested in what the speaker said about the sweet faces of the Quaker women. When he looks in the faces of Republicans, he sees just such countenances as the Quakers had. I look at his genial face, and can almost believe him to be a Democrat. But the question before us is not whether such pleasant fancies have any warrant; it is a question of principles, a question of manhood, of which of the two parties has been most true to mankind. Allusion was made to Thomas Jefferson and Alexander Hamilton. Hamilton was in favor of a "strong government"; he wanted a monarchy, in fact, but our friends leave that fact out of the discussion. What did Thomas Jefferson want? Let the Declaration of Independence answer: we will not leave that out. Jefferson was a true Democrat, in sympathy with the people, and all the great measures of political progress have been in line with his principles. Coming down to the period of reconstruction, after the rebellion of the South, what was the thirteenth amendment to the Constitution? It was in direct accord with the principles of Thomas Jefferson. When Jefferson presented the bill which gave the Northwest Territories to the United States, it provided that slavery should not exist in these territories after 1800. New Jersey objected, and this provision was struck out. Two years later the ordinance of 1797 was passed. In our reconstruction measures we went back to the principles of Thomas Jefferson.

When the speaker of the evening combines the words "free soil," "free speech," and "free men," and would have us infer that the Republican party in its origin was an abolition party, he is mistaken. In the beginning of our Government slavery existed in New York, Massachusetts, and all the Northern States as well as in the South. The North got rid of it because it didn't pay. It gradually died out, and our fathers thought the same thing would occur in the South. Eli Whitney, however, invented the cotton-gin, and slavery became profitable. Money—money which makes the happy faces that please my friend—claimed the South for slavery, and the Republican party

did not oppose the claim. The Republicans did not abolish slavery. Lincoln did not want to do it; war did it. Frémont issued an emancipation proclamation in the West, and Lincoln revoked it. Mr. Seward, a leading Republican, was in favor of putting slavery into the Constitution to stop the discussion of the question in Congress. The free-soil fight over the territory we got from Mexico was not a question of principle. There was no pretense of interfering with slavery in the States where it existed. This is the true history of the question. I know, because I saw it—just the same as my distinguished friend.

Both parties, as Mr. Hendrix stated, are in favor of a tariff. It is only a question of how it shall be adjusted. The idea of the Republicans is that whenever we establish a protective duty, competition will produce such a condition of industry as will enable us, after a time, to undersell foreigners. How has it been since the tariff was taken off of sugar? We paid the tax for ninety years, and now it is taken off. Who was "protected" while the duty was assessed? Shall we adopt the policy of protection in a broad, sweeping way, or shall we scrutinize every point, taking each case on its own merits? This is the question at issue between the two parties to-day. Let us not forget that all the virtue, all the patriotism, and all the industry that creates our national prosperity, do not reside in any one political party.

MR. HORR, in reply:

I must be brief, but I think I can do the last gentleman some good. I was amused at his treatment of the subject. It is wonderful that he should tell you that the country had to go back to the principles of Jefferson in our reconstruction measures. Why didn't he say that the entire Democratic party voted against the thirteenth amendment? Where was Jeffersonian Democracy then? In legislatures and in Congress they voted solidly against it. He supposes that the tax on sugar settles the whole tariff question. His treatment of the subject shows that he has no idea of the difference between a revenue tariff and a protective tariff. We can not build up the sugar industry in this country by a tariff. Any duty put on an article which we can not produce is a revenue tariff, and increases the price of the article. What made every Democrat in the party vote against making sugar free? It was their kind of a tariff.

I was pleased with the candor of Mr. Hendrix, but I was surprised that he should tell you that because the Democratic party got 60,000 votes more than the Republican party, therefore the mass of the people were against us. He forgot that in the South 200,000 Republicans were disfranchised. He also misinterpreted my statement that as a whole the Republican party is higher-toned than the Democratic, into

an admission that the lowly and humble were in the Democratic ranks. I said that in every grade the Republicans are superior. We have plenty of mechanics, for example, but they average better and are more intelligent than the mechanics of Democratic sympathies. Wherever you find school-houses plentiful, there you find the Republicans in the majority. I don't say that all saloon keepers are Democrats, but the Democrats will get away with us in the matter of saloons. Wherever you find gross abuses of municipal government, ballot-box stuffing, and so forth, you don't find Republicans under arrest.

DR. JANES: How about Philadelphia?

I admit that Philadelphia is an exception; but the exception proves the rule. Where will you find another instance?

As regards the tariff, the Democrats are attacking it by piecemeal. They do not bring any consistent measure to oppose to ours. At this rate, how long do you suppose it will take them to get through? There are 2,500 items in the bill, and it would take 800 years to go through the list. In the coming campaign they must tell us where they stand on the silver question and on reciprocity. By reciprocity, as applied to tariff legislation, I mean a law that enables us to make arrangements with another nation to take from us what they do not produce and to sell us what we do not produce. It is a serious question, how to manage the industries of our country so as to make it prosperous; and I believe the Republican party has discovered the true method of its solution.

THE INDEPENDENT IN POLITICS

BY

JOHN A. TAYLOR

AUTHOR OF THE EVOLUTION OF THE STATE, THE EVOLUTION OF ART, ETC.

COLLATERAL READINGS SUGGESTED:

Spencer's Justice, Essays—Scientific, Political, and Speculative, Recent Discussions, The New Slavery, and The Man *vs.* the State; Lowell's The Independent in Politics; Stickney's Democratic Government, The Political Problem, and A True Republic; Storey's Politics as a Duty and as a Career; Ivins's Machine Politics; Mackay's A Plea for Liberty; Comstock's History of Civil Service Reform.

THE INDEPENDENT IN POLITICS.

By John A. Taylor.

"Not once or twice in our rough island story
The path of duty was the way to glory;
He that walks it, only thirsting
For the right, and learns to deaden
Love of self, before his journey closes,
He shall find the stubborn thistle bursting
Into glossy purples, which outredden
All voluptuous garden roses.
Not once or twice in our fair island story
The path of duty was the way to glory."

By far the noblest product of human endeavor is human government. Not the exact science of numbers which measures the flight of constellations, nor of physics which reduces to a few simple substances the complex chemistry of the material universe, can approach the profound significance of that mingled science and art which provides for and administers to vast associations of human beings efficient organic law. The supreme hope of all real statesmen has been to devise a perfect scheme of government—one which should relegate to obscurity the wrong, protect and develop the right, insure good social order, afford the most ample opportunity for untried methods of progress and improvement, and preserve unimpaired the primal safeguards of tranquil living. Among the most fruitful contributions to this end has been that system of rule which recognized as the sole source of power those members of the community who, arrived at the age of discretion, were invested at once with the responsibilities and privileges of citizenship.

When, as the outgrowth of our own early history, manhood suffrage was ordained as an integral part of our plan of government, it was proudly contended that wisdom could go no farther in the solution of the problem "how to govern." Perhaps it may be fairly stated that the contemplation of our fathers was that every political issue incident to the continued prosperity of the nation was to be submitted to the great jury of all the citizenship for final determination; nor was it ever doubted that such decision,

once reached, should be forever recognized as the absolute truth in the premises. But the instant an issue was presented it must have been foreseen that this aggregation of human wisdom would divide itself into two parts—one in favor and the other against the proposition sought to be enforced; and hence parties would inevitably arise, involving the skillful and thorough organization of two great armies, one favoring and the other opposing the proposed public action.

Scarcely, however, could it have been expected that the constituents ranged on one side of a particular issue would forever after upon all new issues preserve like opinions and stand loyally together as a great political army in the treatment of new questions of policy and under constantly changing environment. Less still could it have been imagined that all members in good and regular standing in the same party would be expected to think the same thought about the thousand and one subordinate interests having no relation, either causal or sequential, to the main issue upon which they agreed; or that the same body of men should, during their entire lives, receive with the same approval or disapproval the new questions which should arise long after the issue which they had been organized to promote had been settled and made a part of ancient history. Yet such is the interpretation now widely given to party loyalty by the "wheel-horses" and "mainstays" of modern politics.

No man can be strictly loyal to his political party in this day and generation who disagrees by his vote with the formally expressed opinions of its political platform, or refuses to further the election of its regularly nominated candidates. Men are continually heard to say: "There is no Republican blood in me!" or "There is no Democratic blood in me!" and demonstrate in all their acts and conversation that they inherit their political, as they do their religious, convictions from a remote ancestry.

It is my purpose this evening not at all to recommend or advise that any person should not, in the exercise of an intelligent political free will, ally himself during his entire life with either of the two great political parties; but rather to inquire whether or not there is any room for a consistent, patriotic, and honorable exercise of political duty entirely outside of and unconnected with either of the two parties. I want to approach the consideration

of this inquiry in the absolute good faith which truth and candor ought to compel, with the most respectful appreciation of all that political parties have done for our country, and with the most sincere recognition of the priceless public service of men in the ranks of either party whose proudest boast it is that they have never voted any other than the party ticket during the entire period of their exercise of the franchise. I want also freely to admit that many of the names which stand highest on the list of our country's benefactors are those of men who in season and out of season, without variableness or shadow of turning, have never suffered themselves for a single moment to falter in unquestioned allegiance to the party of their espousal.

Conceding this much, it must be asked in return for those men who find it impossible to continue their former party affiliations, or to subscribe to any new oaths of party fealty, that they shall be recognized and treated as men just as earnest in their love of country, just as unflinching in their devotion to principle, and just as desirous of the highest good of all mankind, as are their fellows whose feet are still marking time in the ranks of the regular army.

Let us then make as our first inquiry: "What are the implied obligations of the social compact?" All must concede that personal independence is partially surrendered wherever communities are organized, and that absolute authority to determine all supreme questions must be lodged somewhere. "Liberty," as Burke says, "must be limited in order to be possessed." Republican institutions repudiating the one-man authority declare the supremacy of the fairly expressed will of the majority, and the individual is left but two courses—either to submit to this law of the majority, or to take himself out of the community. If he would enjoy the blessings, he must endure the penalties of associated action. If he would have the protection, he must suffer the inconvenience of government. But here it is to be clearly noted that he may cease to belong to the community by abdicating his citizenship.

Why, then, should the tyranny of a party majority be any more irksome, and why should it be insisted upon that, refusing to be controlled by the tyranny of one kind of party majority, he should be left no other course than forthwith to submit to the like tyranny at the hands of the other kind of party majority?

Nor let it hastily be concluded that the principle now contended for involves any such profound absurdity as that where citizens are associated for a common purpose any other rule of action can obtain than that ordained by the larger number of the interested persons. This is a law of business procedure, society organization, and political evolution. There can be no coherence of action or continuity of purpose otherwise. All associated action must go forward upon the proposition that the whole agree to dedicate all their energies to execute the decrees of a part. But this rule of action can only effectually proceed where the objects to be obtained are of common interest and all the units of action are impelled toward a definite end; nor is there any absolute necessity for associated action.

To surrender the individual preference as to political action to the prevailing opinion by a continuous obligation to sustain that opinion during the entire future, under all conditions and perhaps against the irrefutable logic of events still to happen, is to dismantle the human judgment of its regal crown of individuality and to declare that enfranchised citizens are to be counted merely like cattle in the shambles of political contention. To generally accept the often avowed doctrine of "Once a Democrat, always a Democrat," "Once a Republican, always a Republican," is to narrow the mind and conscience of citizenship with Procrustean severity. It is to place the partisan above the patriot, the voter above the man. For, talk as one will of party loyalty, and prate as one may of political consistency, any view of political duty which requires as its logical sequence the surrender of manhood and the individual arbitrament of the citizen proclaims thereby that it is as much at war with the manly instincts of the human heart as it is in contradiction to the plainest requirements of sociological law.

Call the roll at what time you please of the world's noblest sons, and the names that illumine their respective ages and challenge the completest homage of all succeeding centuries are the names of those men and women who have counted no anathemas of church, no proscription of state, no banishment from country, as too great a price to pay for the steadfast maintenance, before all the world, of their inviolable allegiance to that within them which glorified and sanctified their own unspotted manhood—their individual conscience. No age, or country, or church, or party,

or civilization, has been barren of such spirits. In the Church they have been called Luthers, in the state Washingtons, in science Darwins, and wherever you shall garner from any country its greatest men, the list will be largely composed of those who have sat apart from the multitude, cherishing with undaunted persistency the supremacy of their individual convictions.

But this tyranny of a party majority of which we are speaking has, under the stress and strain of contemporary politics, grown to be something still more odious. When Jefferson wrote in 1824 of party divisions, he summed up the then existing parties as composed on the one hand of those who wished to draw all powers into the hands of the higher classes, and on the other of those who had confidence in the people as the most honest and safe depository of the public interests, and added that the appellation of aristocrats and democrats was the true one expressing the essence of all.

To-day we have to submit, assuming that we are partisans, not to the behest of a majority of our party, but to the command of a very small minority of that majority. The machinery of expressing personal preference within the party is so skillfully adjusted that the choice at the party primary is limited to determining which of two generally very bad men shall go to the State convention, and if by accident some very good man's name appears upon the ticket at the primary, he finds himself in such bad company in the delegation that he incontinently resigns, and a delegate not too good, or, as an evolutionist ought to say, a person more in harmony with the environment, is put in his place. So that the confiding patriot who attempts to reform within his own party is suffered mostly to carry a flickering torch at the rear of the procession, and the only part of political action in which he is suffered to stand at the head is on the subscription paper, which is passed around after the election with unerring regularity, to make up the ever-present deficiency in the campaign fund.

Now, while we may not subscribe to Ruskin's assertion that "men only associate in parties by sacrificing their opinions, or having none worth sacrificing," yet it must be confessed, I think, that here and now in the year 1892 the men who influence party action are in the main men who would not be intrusted with the direction or control of any considerable business enterprise. They are the men who,

shouting vociferously for party loyalty, stab in the dark the candidates of a rival faction. They are the men who are periodically possessed with the gravest apprehension lest some of their fellow-partisans are becoming too good for their party.

It is essential to remember that the political problem which we are considering is one applicable alone to the present epoch. No independent in politics denies, so far as I am aware, that in the supreme crises of national history, when some absorbing issue of right or wrong is presented for determination, it is the duty, as it is the privilege, of the voter to attach himself to the one political army which promotes his convictions, and to wage in that army a loyal warfare for victory; and that in the prosecution of war all other differences of opinion are to be subordinated is an inevitable condition to success.

This it was which gave coherence and inspiration to the cause of the Republican party in 1856. It was the successful organization and enrollment of men of differing political faiths upon the supreme issue of national unity that drew to the new Republican party so great a number of the independent voters in both of the old parties as to almost insure success in its first campaign. So, too, when the issue of union or division developed as an inseparable complement the even greater issue of human liberty or human slavery, the one inflexible determination of the voting population was demonstrated to be the supremacy of the Union and dethronement of slavery.

But no man who now recalls or has ever read the career of Abraham Lincoln during that eventful period can fail to observe that he was, beyond all men who have ever lived, an independent in politics. He was conspicuously, at all crucial periods of the war, independent of and vastly wiser than his party. Of him no more bitter things were said than by his own partisan organs. He was denounced in set terms as a traitor to his party and his country by many of the most prominent Republican newspapers. So strong was the openly expressed and generally held detestation of his indifference and opposition to party behests, that nothing but the opportune victories on the battle-field during the months preceding his second election saved him from defeat.

Now, as to this organization called the Republican party, which at the close of the war and perhaps for some time

thereafter stood in firm, compact coherence upon the question which inflamed all its membership with patriotic fervor, was it supposable that all its membership should forever thereafter agree upon the new issues which presented themselves? To suppose so would be to determine that a body of patriotic men organized for a given purpose have agreed to do battle all their lives for whatever purpose a majority of their organization should summon them.

But let us now consider briefly what is meant by the phrase "The Independent in Politics." First, it is to be noticed that the independent is not necessarily unidentified with existing political parties, although he must at all times stand ready to be. The independent in politics within the political parties is one who votes with his party upon all questions which do not challenge the approval of his own conscience, but who gives the benefit of his action to his own conscience whenever he is called upon to determine whether his own or some other conscience shall prevail.

The independent in politics outside of both parties—who may perhaps be designated as of the genus Mugwump—is one who has determined that he can best promote the public interest by claiming no affiliation with either party, denying himself the emoluments as he is relieved from the obligations of such alliances, thus holding himself at full liberty to criticise and oppose candidates and proposed public action according as the one or the other shall commend themselves to his personal approval. Whatever else may be said of the Mugwump, I think it must be conceded that his position is from his standpoint logical, consistent, and patriotic, and in saying this I am speaking only of those who sincerely take this position.

The supreme arbitrament of private conscience has during our entire national career secured the recognition of government, as witness the exemption from military duty of the Quakers and from sabbatarian regulations of the Seventh-day Baptists and Jews; and, wherever any man or woman is believed to be sincere in standing upon conscientious ground, it is everywhere among civilized nations acknowledged as a standpoint higher than the law of the land itself. Indeed, the change from monarchical absolutism to democratic sway had no significance if it did not install in the highest place of ultimate determination the edict of the individual as to his own conduct.

It is common to hear men holding such a position stigma-

tized as hypocrites, Pharisees, men too good to live, doctrinarians, cranks, and soreheads; and it must be candidly admitted that, wherever or for whatever purpose men classify themselves, a certain number of camp-followers denied the privilege of even hanging on the outskirts of regular organizations will seek to ally themselves with the irregular forces. Indeed, you must know all sides of an apparent human being before you can determine that he is a man.

Consider for a moment, however, what it means to stand outside the popular throng, to see the old procession in whose ranks your feet have once marked loyal time marching onward with you. Take, for example, one of the foremost thinkers and perhaps the most accomplished orator of our times. A man who was present at the birth of the Republican party and was one of the most efficient of its leaders; a man whose silvery sentences charmed many a patriotic youth into its allegiance; a man whose face and speech and heart and soul have been for more than one human generation the synonym of candor and sincerity and who represents to-day the highest form of disinterested patriotism. Consider what it is to him with all his gracious accomplishments and splendid abilities to renounce all hope of political preferment, to deny himself the comradeship of the old allies and compeers of his youth, and to salute alone the ensign of his private convictions.

It little boots to say that his judgment was wrong. The man who substitutes another's conscience for his own is by that very token dehumanized and made a cipher. On all questions of mere expediency one may yield to the judgment of his fellows, but against the sure and steady light of his conviction on a question of right and wrong not forty thousand fellows should be able to move a manly man.

Indeed, this whole question of party supremacy seems to be a case of misplaced emphasis. The highest function of mankind is not the patriotic, the teaching, or even the religious function. It is the function of manhood itself; it is the sublime intimation of the divine nature; it is the royal quality of sovereignty. He who on such questions abdicates the throne of self-government is already prepared to be counted and not weighed as a political factor.

You say you are an American? Yes. You are a Christian? Yes. You are a Republican or a Democrat? Yes. But before you were either of these you were a man, distinguishable from every man who ever has lived or will

live, a bundle of passions and aspirations, the creature of circumstances beset by an army of conflicting emotions; willing the right perhaps and doing the wrong, but holding in your own hand the all-conquering scepter of manhood, the inalienable right of individual determination.

If, then, the political status of the independent in politics has been made apparent and the ethical root of his being correctly set forth, it may be in point to consider briefly his genesis and development. We shall remark on this branch of our subject that the Mugwump as a factor of political action is contemporaneous with constitutional government in the United States. It is true that, for reasons to be considered hereafter, his development as an important and distinct element of more or less organized political action is comparatively modern; but men with the spirit of the Mugwump have lived and inspired all human history.

A contributor to the Boston Centinel, who dated his communication at Hingham, October 26, 1802, stated in substance the Mugwump platform when he said: "We do not make much ado about caucuses, but we attend our meetings like freemen and vote from the honest convictions of our consciences." This contributor of nearly ninety years ago signed his communication "An Independent Elector," and no one since has more concisely stated the platform of the Mugwumps. He was doubtless one of many of his kind who continually recognized in the performance of his public duties the necessity of rebelling against party dictation.

Why, then, it may be asked, has not the Mugwump sooner developed as a distinct political entity? Several reasons are obvious. One of the most suggestive from an evolutionary standpoint is the familiar agent of repression by an unfavorable environment. An old primeval forest is desolated by a fierce conflagration, and out of the charred waste of blackened stumps and herbage there arises as if by magic a new field of verdure, and with the new state of vegetable life there appear in the contest for survival the sprouting stalks of new varieties of shrub or tree, the seeds of which had been for many years biding in hidden silence their new environment. By similar political changes has the opportunity for independent political action been provided.

Consider for an instant the essential requirements of an independent political entity:

First, an absence of all-absorbing political issues, and es-

pecially of issues enlisting the ethical forces of men's natures.

Second, a population sufficiently large in number to make the actual marshaling of all voters in armies considerably difficult.

Third, a dissemination of political knowledge among so large a class of people that they should rely with some degree of confidence upon the result of their own thinking.

Fourth, the existence of a leisure class, only practicable in a wealthy country, who should have time as well as inclination to devote themselves to political pursuits.

Manifestly these conditions did not obtain during the early part of our history. Indeed, it has only been by the comparatively recent advances in science and art that they have been made practicable. Sporadic occasions of efficient political action outside the parties, or by partial amalgamation, have indeed been incident to all party action, a notable instance occurring in 1846 when Robert Peel and Richard Cobden, entirely outside either party in Parliament, effected one of the greatest of English reforms—the repeal of the corn law. But neither has the occasion offered, nor have men been present to avail of it to any considerable organized extent, until in recent times.

Two great questions of national importance and involving ethical issues have mainly engaged the attention of our voters from the birth of the nation. One, the question of national unity as distinguished from state autonomy; the other, the question of property in man. The first, although in forms of organic law proclaimed at the beginning, awaited the amplification by the judiciary department of the Government under the Constitution, which may be said not to have developed until the work of the illustrious Marshall was completed in 1836. The second grew to such monstrous proportions as to threaten anew the life of the nation, and was not wholly and satisfactorily established until within the present decade it had been demonstrated that the party long out of power could be safely and profitably intrusted with the administration of government.

To-day, therefore, the first and second requirements—namely, an absence of absorbing political issues, and a large population—may be justly said to be furnished us, for it is now a part of our political history that in the national campaign of 1884 there was so little difference between the official utterances of the two parties on the only issue of national

polity that the orators of each side spent most of their time on the stump in showing that their candidate was really standing upon the platform of the other party; and the latest census of our country discloses a population of more than sixty-five millions.

The third requirement spoken of—namely, a wide dissemination of political knowledge—may be said to be fairly met by the hundred-handed press of to-day, which has assumed with great success the rôle of censor, instructor, and investigator of our national as well as our domestic affairs. There is more knowledge, as well as something else, accumulated in the issue of any Sunday paper of to-day than was stored up in all the monasteries of France during the entire lives of their votaries. That prince of Mugwumps, Wendell Phillips, has pointedly remarked that "what gunpowder did for war, the printing press has done for the mind, and the statesman is no longer clad in the steel of special education, but every reading man is his judge, every thoughtful man the country through, who makes up an opinion, is his jury to which he answers, and the tribunal to which he must bow."

If, then, these new conditions do really obtain as an incident to our increase as a nation in wealth, population, and education, and the development of a leisure class among us, is not an evolutionist prepared for the observation that with the complexity of the political structure there arises a corresponding complexity in the political function? Indeed, it is Herbert Spencer who reminds us in his Biology that "complexity of function is the correlative of complexity of structure."

Are we not then prepared to observe that with the specialization of function to which Mr. Theodore Roosevelt refers in his recent admirable Essays on Practical Politics (by which he means, I suppose, the calling of the politician as such) we have arrived at a period when it should become the special political function of a given body of citizens to hold themselves as a permanent and more or less organized menace to the abuse of the special function of the professional politician, and to the undue supremacy of party spirit —that party spirit of which Washington himself said: "A fire not to be quenched, it demands a uniform vigilance to prevent its bursting into a flame, lest instead of warming it should consume"?

Before defining further, however, the special function of the Mugwump, it is proper to observe that the evil of party

dogmatism is barely touched upon when it is considered with relation to its effect upon national politics. Given an all-consuming issue of national concern, as we have already observed, patriots might well divide into armies in support of that issue; but that the membership of that army should continue to agree upon questions affecting the state polity, suggests an absurd obeisance of the individual will, and when it is gravely put forth as a test of party loyalty that the same persons should continue to agree upon lines of municipal policy, the absurdity becomes grotesque and the claim of the party organs or leaders sublimely ridiculous. Yet such is the party claim to-day. Over and over again in a neighboring city has the party, which is fond of calling itself the great moral party, proclaimed it of greater importance that its voting army should throw its ammunition away on a hopeless candidacy of one of its own, than to elevate to power and usefulness an independent, public-spirited citizen of the opposite party—so callous has already become the party conscience. And so the interests of a great municipality are surrendered year by year to the keeping of self-seeking politicians, for fear that a spirit of party insubordination shall be fostered in the rank and file.

Nor is the same spirit lacking in our State government. What spectacle can be more disheartening than that of the highest officers in the foremost State of the Union resorting to downright thievery in order to wreak revenge upon their political foes for depriving them (most unjustly, it must be admitted) for nearly a decade of proportionate representation in the State Legislature?

And yet there is one thing still more disheartening, and that is the elevation to a place in the highest legal tribunal of the State of one who stands, by his own confession, in the relation of *particeps criminis* to the monstrous theft. Nor has this blind partisan folly the slim justification of party zeal. For, in the true sense of a divided public opinion expressing itself through party channels, these are not the dictates of wise party leadership; rather they are the mandates of cravens who by adroit manipulation have taken to themselves the reins of party power and are driving the party chariot in the courses which lead to their own shameless competence.

Let us not be deceived, nor fear to speak the truth about it. More and more in our State and in our great cities politics has come to be a most degrading trade, and the men

who wield the party power ply their infamous traffic to just the extent which, in their shrewd judgment, the apathy of their good-natured constituents will permit. Occasionally they overstep the mark, and then the sleepy constituents gather in enthusiastic conclave at the Cooper Institute, or elsewhere, and, reminding their political bosses that "this is really too bad," demand the repeal of some specially obnoxious measure; and the legislators hasten to do their bidding, in confident reliance that during the rush of business incident to adjournment they may still commit, unobserved, their particular piece of robbery. Meantime the constituents, having performed their political duties, go solemnly to sleep, and wake up at the next election denouncing roundly their fellow-citizens who vote anything but the straight ticket.

One of the most common and plausible justifications for party dogmatism is the sugar-coated delusion of party responsibility. "Turn everybody out and put everybody in, and then let the party take the responsibility," is the cry often heard. And so this plan has been tried for generations with the effect of constantly decreasing efficiency in city government, so that sagacious observers, like Lowell, are heard to say that "the tricks of management are more and more superseding the science of government," and, again, "where parties are once formed, those questions, the discussion of which would discipline and fortify one's minds, tend more and more to pass out of sight, and the topics that interest their prejudices and passions to become more absorbing."

Now, if party allegiance meant, as it ought to mean, loyalty to some great postulate of freedom, it would deserve to and would enlist the utmost endeavor of all its adherents. But what is it more to-day, in the main, than abject subserviency to the political fortunes of men in power? What more has it come to be than the practical question of which army of office-mongers shall control after the next election?

Nor is the baneful influence of this apparent truth so important in its effect upon the voter as upon the career of the office-holder himself. Upon him it too often exercises the most complete domination. To it he is expected, at the peril of his political existence, to sacrifice everything. If he withholds honor, integrity, or consistency, he is taunted with being ungrateful and disloyal to those men who have "made" him, and is threatened with political destruction.

What more lamentable spectacle can be contemplated than the career of a well-known local politician who derived his political life from the efforts of independent men in the party opposed to him, and, once firmly seated in the saddle, repudiated all professions of subordination of party to principle, became the synonym of party obsequiousness, honored all demands of the political bosses, and, in the short space of five years, had so bedraggled a promising and hopeful reputation for political probity by bending the knee to Baal that thousands of voters in his own party repudiated his pretensions to political preferment, and though not past the middle prime of life, he has already gone into lucrative but dishonorable political retirement?

And, on the other hand, how encouraging is the spectacle presented by another public man among us, who, in whatever position he has been placed, has kept a true allegiance to his manhood, refusing the honeyed enticement of political preferment and, holding high above all possible honors of place or power the virgin whiteness of his reputation, has absolutely and with an upright, honorable carriage, walked out of the devious paths of so-called practical politics into the ever green slopes of scholastic attainment and promotion!

Now, if the baneful influence of party spirit can produce such diverse effects upon men of reputed honor, intelligence, and public spirit, how demoralizing must be its effect upon the great army of office-holders who owe the opportunity to earn their livelihood to the will of the dispensers of party patronage!

More than fifty years ago Daniel Webster said of this question of party patronage that "the power of bestowing places and emoluments creates parties not upon any principle or any measure, but upon the single ground of personal interest. Blind devotion to party, and to the head of a party, thus takes the place of a sentiment of generous patriotism and a high and exalted sense of public duty." And in baneful fulfillment of this characterization we have but recently witnessed the determined and largely triumphant stand taken at first by Independents in politics, and subsequently adopted by the parties themselves, against the position that party fealty was the only essential requirement for political place.

The establishment of so large a portion of our civil list upon lines of comparatively independent footing has largely

contributed to the practicability of independent political action, and constitutes an important element in the changed environment which makes the Mugwump possible.

Nothing is more common than to underrate the numbers and influence of the Mugwump. In the campaign of 1884 it was noticeable that while the party organs could scarcely detect the existence of any considerable body of Mugwumps in the State of New York, there was an actual personal enrollment of fifty thousand bolters from the Republican party in the possession of the managers of the independent revolt. And in the election for the mayoralty which took place in this city in 1885 more than thirteen thousand voters left their party lines to vote under conditions which assured to them no other success at the polls than their enumeration as men who disdained to follow their party in what in their judgment were policies prejudicial to the best interests of the city. Surely the tyranny of no party majority can be very dangerous with so large a body of independent voters ready to administer a prompt rebuke to its pretensions.

But there is one period in the political calendar when the sweetness and light of the Mugwump, and his many civic virtues, arrest the attention of even the party organ, and that is during the three weeks or more immediately preceding election. It is true that this recognition is most profusely proclaimed by organs of the minority party. When especially desirous to lift into power, in the teeth of a large majority on the other side, some especial "favorite son," their readers are somewhat surprised to learn that "there are certain honest men belonging to the majority party who have the courage of their convictions, and who it is currently reported have announced their determination not to tamely submit to the behest of the party," and straightway these worthy gentlemen are exhorted to "follow the dictates of patriotism and support the candidate of the minority upon the broad ground of the public interest."

But however superlative may be the encomiums bestowed upon the poor Mugwump just before election, when the ballots are all counted and the result of his fine work is apparent, he becomes the Pariah of local politics against whom every man's hand is raised. The party whose candidates he has defeated denounces him roundly as a traitor to the cause, and the party which has availed itself of his vote declines to recognize his existence, but speaks in its double-leaded leader, with a rooster at the head of the column, of the

"growing prominence of Republican (or Democratic, as the case may be) principles in the ninety-ninth congressional district."

But let us now return to examine briefly the function of the independent voter. Can it be reasonably denied that in a community such as this city, where more than a hundred and fifty thousand votes are cast at each election, it is of the greatest value to have existing, and known by both sets of party leaders to so exist, a large body of citizens whose position outside both parties precludes their acting from motives of personal aggrandizement? Is not the existence of such a body of men a constant menace to party leaders against imposing upon voters either candidates or policies of an especially vicious character? And may it not be reasonably expected that such a body of voters may come in time to be the center of useful political education whence may come knowledge and estimates concerning men and public affairs untainted by party bias and personal greed?

Can we hope to have our children intelligently cognizant of current political events when they find that even the facts in favor of or against either party are suppressed or published by the party organ accordingly as this or the other course will promote the party cause?

It is the function and the duty of the Mugwump to approach the consideration of all public questions from the standpoint of public interest, and the value of his independent position is, or ought to be, that he can do this with absolute freedom from entangling alliances. The true Mugwump is always found on the registry list. He is not indifferent to, but profoundly interested in, every public question. He is an industrious observer of the career of public men and the action of State and municipal legislatures. He reads with care the organs of both parties and then searches assiduously for the truth elsewhere. He has a reason for the faith that is within him, and is never afraid or ashamed to state it. He has no private hiding-places in which certain of his convictions must be stowed away when influential party leaders appear. He gives no prizes to target excursions, does not present to picnic organizations bright banners inscribed with his own name; he carries about him no railroad passes, and is free to return or not, as he pleases, all tickets to charitable balls. He is owned by nobody but himself; he owns nobody but himself; he sometimes hears himself referred to as a crank, but even that does not frighten

him. He is the recipient of most soothing euphemisms before election and the most scathing denunciations after election. Nevertheless, he talks plain Quaker talk about the candidate, talks boldly about the tax-rate, calls attention to the weakness of each party platform in the very heat of the campaign, and is allowed to vote exactly as he pleases on election day, and he is also sure to vote.

The Mugwump has also a most abiding confidence in the greatness of his country.

If in what has already been said it has been necessary to look plainly in the face certain political evils, let it not for a moment be suspected that this has been done because there were not apparent to the Mugwump the great underlying potentialities of patriotism which render utterly impossible the destruction or even serious impairment of our great republican nationality.

The evils complained of are, after all, but the superficial excrescences which evidence the speedy and prodigious expansion of our new commonwealth. It is just because of our faith in the inviolable patriotism of the plain people that we look for the development and maintenance of the Independent in politics as at once the evidence and prophecy of better rulers and a better citizenship. Ignorant vice and polished selfishness may at times climb to the high places of power, but all about them, if they will but look, they are compelled to witness the agencies of their own dethronement.

If it be true, as I believe it is, that no permanent civilization can rise higher than the standard of its average citizen, so also is it sure that no largess of power can be long bestowed on a plane of action lower than the intelligence and conscience of its average manhood.

I have said at the beginning of this paper that it was not my purpose to advise any young man against alliance with either of the great parties. I now repeat the assertion. I do not forget that wise remark of Jefferson's that "it is the sum of individual knowledge which is to make up the whole truth." If the mistakes of genius are often overshadowing, how does humility become the utterance of those of us who are but walking the ordinary plane of citizenship!

What I do insist upon is that in the hot pursuit of party aims, and facing the treacherous temptations of personal ambition, while you may place your private judgment in the scales of your political importance and preferment,

you shall unswervingly retain within your own control the immaculate pearl of your private conscience. Surrender it, I beg of you, to no exigency of party; bear it clear and high above all political turmoil, keep it as Philip Sydney kept his undaunted humanity, to the end, and be prepared, if need be, at any moment to hold steadfast to your convictions upon questions of right and wrong, even if they are cherished by no single person other than yourself.

So, holding yourself within the lines of party organization, you shall make for yourself and your posterity an honorable repute.

But if, on the other hand, you shall find it better suited to your views of political action to stand outside the popular current of politics, do not, I beg of you, be dismayed by the paucity of numbers, nor fear that your voice and vote will be lost. Look back along the line of the world's history and say if you be not standing on the same spot where, during all the centuries, the men whose memories you most reverently cherish have stood. Has not the vantage ground of genius ever been outside the camp of thronging multitudes? Have not the leaders of all progress been the loud protestants of their generation? Do not the men of high example who are worthy the completest imitation of men of earnest thought and sincere desire bear on their frontlets the scars of accusations overcome and derision baffled?

The field is clear outside, the atmosphere unmixed with doubts, the limbs unshackled. There are no mental limitations or reservations; there is but one master—the truth; there is but one goal—the truth; there is but one weapon —the truth; and this is the master which has led, the goal which has inspired, and the weapon which has won the priceless victories of all the ages. Prudence, conservatism, independence, have been respectively the root, the stalk, and the flower of all political evolution.

It is a great thing for one sincerely inspired by fealty to party to say "I am a Democrat," or "I am a Republican"; it is a greater thing for one thrilling with patriotic devotion to his country to say "I am an American"; but greatest of all is it for one, passing beyond the limitations alike of party and of country, and taking into his unfettered vision the entire human race, to say "I am a man."

ABSTRACT OF THE DISCUSSION.

MR. ROBERT W. TAYLER:

I have to thank the other Mr. Taylor for having refuted the old adage that it takes nine of us to make a man. In that he needs no assistance. I feel like saying to him something like what was said to Paul on a memorable occasion: Almost thou persuadest me to be a Mugwump—almost, but not quite. And therein lies the infirmity of the Mugwump—in failing to do all that which, with the powers given him, he might do. Failing to accomplish all that you can is a sin, no less than the failure to accomplish anything. I can find no fault with my predecessor's definition of the Independent in politics. I understand him to be one who refuses to join with any political party, but at all times and under all circumstances acts as a free lance. He sustains the same relation to the political army as the guerrilla to forces in actual warfare. When he finds he can not accomplish his end in the space between the two parties, he allies himself temporarily with one or the other, usually with that which, in his judgment, has the fewest fixed principles. I object to the Independent, not as a partisan, but as a citizen—as one who desires to see the greatest good accomplished for the greatest number. I protest against the Mugwump because he either proceeds from or tends toward Phariseeism. It is a condition of mind and not of the body-politic which produces the Mugwump. The desire to be alone proceeds from an unsocial disposition. He is unlike his fellows; he knows it; and I do not know as he is to blame for thanking God that he is so. He stands by himself and says: "I am better than the parties; my judgment is better than the combined judgment of men," and therefore I say he either comes out of Phariseeism or is led into it. He shears himself of his usefulness by this isolation, and the public loses confidence in the measures he proposes.

Again, he either proceeds from or leads into a pessimistic view of life and society. I do not believe the lecturer is naturally an Independent; he takes too kindly a view of the tendencies of the times. He does not breathe the spirit of Lowell in his last years. When we consider that for nearly his entire life each morning was brighter and more beautiful to him than the one before, the flowers were sweeter, and the days were fuller of a large and hopeful promise for mankind, that life was richer and fuller as the years rolled by, and set over

against this supreme fact of his earlier years the disposition of the man as revealed in the address on "The Independent in Politics," who saw nothing in society or politics that was hopeful, who said: "It is admitted on all hands that matters have been growing worse for twenty years, as it is the nature of evil to do"—the pessimistic tendency of his mind at this time is manifest. I am not going to discuss the question whether things are actually growing better or worse. Any one with his eyes open who declares that in society or politics the moral tone has not risen in the last twenty years has fitted himself for the exclusive fellowship of the Mugwumps.

Far be it from me to say that evil does not grow; but Lowell would not have used the expression I have quoted unless he meant just what he said. If he believed that the growth of good was greater than the growth of evil, he would have qualified his statement. He meant that things were going down, that the moral tone of society had lowered. He said that the newspapers referred to the buying of votes in a jocular manner without attempting to rebuke or break up the practice. I think, on the contrary, it is rare to find anything in the press of this country but declarations of the very highest doctrine relating to the right of suffrage.

I object to the Independent in politics because he isn't as useful out of the party as he might be in. It has been declared this evening with great plausibility that Abraham Lincoln, in the period of his greatest power, was an Independent. Nevertheless, he was undoubtedly always a Republican, acting with his party. If he accomplished anything by his independence, he accomplished it as a Republican, and would have been powerless to accomplish it otherwise. Our last President of the United States was a man who, before his election, had not given great attention to national questions; but he was honest, and when he saw the right he endeavored to do it. His party had been going on with uncertain tread, but because he was *in the party* he formulated a doctrine of taxation and revenue for it; and because of him, the party today stands upon its feet in advocacy of a definite principle. The Independent talks, but the party man acts. Phillips thundered, but Greeley accomplished. Garrison dared, but Lincoln did. The Independent in politics must be so not only in thought but in act. The field of thought is boundless, but the field of action is limited by the necessities of life. Very eloquently indeed did the gentleman close his address, telling us how through all time men of genius have acted independently and left their mark; but that is not the point. The scientist does not join himself to a certain school and say "I will always belong to it"; his field of thought and experiment is absolutely unlimited. But when it comes to questions of politics and government you

are in a limited field. Every man interested must do something. What? Act, or fail to act? Parties were defined to-night with great force and accuracy. Every public measure must have one party in its favor and another against it. There never can be more than two parties on living, practical issues. One of two ways every man must take, or he is powerless, and fails in his duty to himself and to society. He may take one to-day and another to-morrow. If he takes one course to-day because a certain principle is at issue, that leads to other and kindred questions, and in the nature of things he is likely to keep with his chosen comrades. If reflection leads him to change his views, however, he has a right to change his party allegiance; I never heard any one question the right to leave one party and go to the other.

DR. LEWIS G. JANES:

Emerson declared that in religious development the tendency of a higher culture and civilization is to create churches of one and churches of two. According to Herbert Spencer, this is also the tendency of advancing evolution in politics. Differentiation and integration is the law here as in the unfolding of the physical universe. The ideal is not individual independence as a condition of selfish isolation from one's fellows, but as a vantage ground for a higher influence and more perfect voluntary co-operation. Political independence, absolute and complete, is therefore the goal of political evolution. A party—like government itself, like all organizations—is a temporary thing; a thing to be used by the individual as a tool for working out certain desirable ends, so long as it is sharp and adapted to the work; but when it is outworn or dulled it should be set aside, and another taken up. The last speaker referred to the Independent as if he refused to act with any political party. This is not the fact, however. The political Independent does not vote in the air, does not leave one party to form a third, but always throws his influence with that party which to him seems to represent the truest principles upon the questions immediately at issue. This, indeed, was the avowed reason of the grievance of our Republican friends against the Mugwumps of 1884—not that they withdrew from all party connection in selfish isolation, but that they threw their influence and votes solidly for the Democratic party.

The word "Phariseeism," as used by our friends to indicate the characteristics of political independency, shows that they are not sufficiently familiar with religious history to deal safely with its phraseology and nomenclature. Who was the Pharisee of nineteen hundred years ago? Was he a Mugwump, or Come-outer? Not at all. The Pharisee was the very incarnation of party spirit. He claimed, indeed,

to be the pre-eminent representative of the party of "great moral ideas" of his time. The founder of Christianity, on the contrary, was the truest Independent that the world ever saw. He proclaimed the direct relation of the individual soul to the great questions of ethics and religion. He founded no new sect, but gathered around him a little company of men and women who dared to disregard the conventionalisms of thought and life, and, from the vantage ground of personal independence, to call their fellow-men to a higher obedience to the moral law. Such are the people, always and everywhere, who have exercised a supreme influence on men and affairs. Search through the ages, in the field of politics or of religion, and you will find that the men of influence, the men who have done the highest things for humanity, were Independents—not subservient followers of party or of sect. The true political Independent is not one who "votes in the air," not the political recluse, but the man who always obeys his conscience, whether accused of inconsistency or not. "A foolish consistency," he believes, with Emerson, "is the hob-goblin of little minds." I believe the growth of human society in the future is to be in the direction of the political and religious independence of the individual, and the voluntary and intelligent co-operation of all for great and beneficent ends.

MR. WALTER S. LOGAN:

The eloquent speaker of the evening has expounded the doctrines and opinions which he has exemplified in his life and in his conduct throughout his political career. His preaching and practice agree. But the charm of these meetings is in the discussion, where both sides are presented. To-night I propose to speak as a party man—not without limitations, for I have been something of an Independent myself. I am a member of the Reform Club, was one of its founders, and am proud of its work. I listened to the speech of Mr. Lowell, referred to by the gentleman who opened this discussion, and I did not see in it any indication of pessimism or the decay of his great powers; but I recognized his courage in leaving a party which had been great but was becoming corrupt, as the crowning act of a great career. It is true that the grandest characters on the world's stage, whose sublime courage and magnificent ability entitle them to the respect of all mankind, were Independents. The early Abolitionists were among them; the later Mugwumps are among them, as fearless and as patriotic as any men that ever breathed; and yet, much as I love the men and admire their characters, I am not in full sympathy with their methods. Their courage is often wasted. They would accomplish more if their valor were tempered with discretion. We owe abolition to Lincoln,

not to Garrison and Phillips. The trouble with the Independent is that he is too self-sufficient. He is a sort of pious freebooter—a modern Don Quixote, who, however, usually attacks real giants and not windmills. But while he gets undying glory, the other side usually gets elected. I believe, therefore, in Party, but I do not worship at its shrine. I appreciate its defects, and would have it better. But when I have a tree to cut down I use the best axe I have at hand, and do not stop to apply the differential and integral calculus to the curve of its blade. The Republican party of Abraham Lincoln was by no means an ideal party, but, with all its faults, Lincoln led it to victory. If he was an Independent, where shall we look for a great partisan? The democratic party of Grover Cleveland was by no means perfect. Some of its methods we could not accept, but he organized it for victory, and accomplished more with it in four years than would have been accomplished by an independent movement in a century. The Independent of nineteen hundred years ago did not spread Christianity over the world until a Christian party was formed, and its triumph is a triumph of organization and not of independency. Organization and co-operation mean success. Independence means acting alone, and this means failure. The age we live in is opposed to independency. We are dependent on others for all we have—for life itself. We are not living now in the kind of world we had even fifty years ago. In the era of the Abolition movement men lived in the country, raised their own food, made their own clothes, and did not rely on others for help. Now we live in cities, manufactures are divided up in many hands, all occupations are specialized, and every man is dependent on his fellows for a living. A Mugwump in the physical world would starve in a week. We can not set up an arbitrary standard of ethics for ourselves any more than we can feed ourselves without relying on the help of others. We can not stand up erect with forty thousand people leaning against us, any more than we can walk up Broadway at mid-day without turning to the right or to the left. The organization may not be as good as we should like, but it isn't as bad as the speaker has painted it. Do not be too independent. It is as bad to lean backward as forward. The kick of a gun is sometimes quite as deadly as its bullet. Be content to use the old tools till you can get new ones. Keep in advance of the army, if you will, but do not get out of sight of its serried columns, or you will fall into the hands of the common enemy.

MR. JOHN A. TAYLOR, in reply: I have been so kindly dealt with that there is little occasion for reply; but I can not help saying one or two things. My friend and namesake carried us back to Paul and Agrippa,

and admitted that he was "almost persuaded" to be a Mugwump. You will remember that it was Christianity to which Agrippa was "almost persuaded," and it was the greatest mistake of his life that he didn't allow Paul wholly to persuade him. I told you that our critics would call us various pet names. My friend and namesake indulged in a few, such as "Pharisee," and "guerrilla," and finally he ended with a doleful view of our pessimism. The fact shows that instead of having no influence, we are doing what we are trying to do, and making it very lively for the "regular army." I was sorry when my friend and brother and namesake got so sad over Mr. Lowell, when he delivered the noble address which will live after his poetry is dead. He said he had to appeal from it. Well, the Republican party had to appeal from all its great men during the Blaine and Cleveland campaign. Its chief men stayed in the party when the party stood for principle. When the principle went out the men went out. After saying that the Independent could accomplish more in a party than out of it, Mr. Logan instanced Grover Cleveland. But his nomination was forced and his election achieved by the Mugwump. The Democratic party didn't dare to nominate any one else. The man they now want to nominate is David B. Hill, and he is the man whom the Independents will not let them nominate. It was said that a Mugwump would starve in a week if left alone. What really troubles our friends is that we *don't* starve, but live and work and vote, and are on hand to annoy them. If any man desires to join a political party he should be at liberty to do so. If he prefers not to be labeled with any party name, he should be permitted to stand outside with all the privileges of citizenship which are accorded to the members of political organizations. The Independent stands for the right of private judgment in political affairs, and he will continue so to stand until his position is recognized and respected.

MORAL QUESTIONS IN POLITICS

BY

JOHN C. KIMBALL

AUTHOR OF EVOLUTION OF ARMS AND ARMOR
ZOÖLOGY AS RELATED TO EVOLUTION, ETC.

COLLATERAL READINGS SUGGESTED:

Spencer's Justice, Principles of Sociology and Social Statics; Ward's Social Dynamics; Mill On Liberty; Smith's Liberty and Liberalism; Fitz-James Stephen's Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity; Mulford's The Nation; Emerson's Essay on Politics; Lieber's Political Ethics; Garrison's Life of William Lloyd Garrison; Sumner's Speeches on the Slavery Question; Wendell Phillips's Speeches, and Phi Beta Kappa Oration; George Q. Cannon's Speeches on Mormonism; Trial of the Chicago Anarchists; Iles's The Liquor Question in Politics; Fernald's Economics of Prohibition; Oswald's The Poison Problem; Pitman's Alcohol and the State; Ellis's The Criminal; Ryland's Crime, its Cause and its Remedy; Tallack's Penological and Preventive Principles.

MORAL QUESTIONS IN POLITICS,

AS RELATED TO THE OTHER METHODS OF THEIR TREATMENT.

By John C. Kimball.

The New Point of View.

While exploring with a party of friends several years ago one of the many crab-like arms with which Puget Sound crawls back from the sea up into the land, our boat anchored for the afternoon in a picturesque spot under the shadow of the Olympic mountains to allow the amateur artists on board—mostly ladies—to make a sketch of its beautiful scenery. Suddenly the silence of lead-pencils, which had been reigning supreme for an hour or more, was broken by the horrified exclamation of a feminine voice, "Oh! oh! oh! we are all adrift!" Its occasion was the tide, which, up there amid the innumerable inlets it has to visit, often gets bewildered and loses all sense of its obligations to the moon, sometimes piling itself up twenty-four feet at once, sometimes rising or falling six hours and calling that a day's work, and sometimes running so long in one direction that, like a sentence many-phrased, it seems to have lost all connection with its starting point — the tide unexpectedly turned, that was bearing our boat its cable's length the other way from its anchor. On coming to a stand again, which it did in a moment or two, the scene we had been sketching, though itself the same as at first, was, in the aspect it presented to us, an almost entirely different thing. The white man's cabin, the Indian's tent, and the dog's humble kennel, before wide apart, were now in exact range with each other. The houses and hewn logs had made a complete swap in their visible sides and ends. A beautiful white cataract, concealed before in all except its music, had come plainly into sight; and even the great snow-peaked mountains, immovable as they were at their granite bases, were parallaxed against a stretch of blue sky quite different from the cloudy one against which at first they had seemed to lean. Most of the artists, recognizing the changed per-

spective, threw their old sketches aside and began wholly new ones from their new point of view. But some, hating to lose their work, went on and finished out what they had begun, a part by drawing the uncompleted things as they remembered them to have looked, and others by simply adding them on as they now appeared. At the close of the afternoon we organized an *extempore* art exhibition. The wholly new pictures, though somewhat hasty, were all well enough. But the others! Besides the mistakes of memory and the ludicrous results which had arisen from the mixing up of the two perspectives—the houses and logs with both ends visible, and the dog, the Indian, and the white man each with a double background—they all had a horrified jerk of the pencil where the exclamation "We're adrift!" had come in, exceedingly significant historically, but otherwise as unmeaning in art as the sudden quirk was in chirography that used to adorn our writing-books at the district school when the master came up from behind and rapped our knuckles with his ruler to keep us from making crooked lines. And, as we compared the two results, we all concluded that the best way to draw pictures when the tide has turned is to begin the whole thing anew and draw every object in them directly from its new point of view.

What took place with our tugboat on Puget Sound has taken place in our day with the bark of thought on the sea of life. Its tide has turned—the great tide of philosophy sweeping here and there in past ages through all manner of strange channels, turned at last in this bright afternoon of the nineteenth century to the side of evolution; and it has inevitably changed with it the point of view from which the whole universe is to be seen. It is a tremendous change. Not unnaturally, when first discovered, it wrung forth from timid lips the ejaculation, "Oh! oh! oh! we're all adrift!" And there are some even now who refuse to recognize in their work that anything has taken place; some who go on teaching and describing things from the old creation standpoint, just as they did before; and others—ministers, alas!—who do indeed recognize the new position, but who think the only safe way is to mix up the two in their views, look at Nature and natural science from the standpoint of evolution, and at religion and ethics from that of creation, and who, with a miracle of perspective such as the devoutest saint-painter of the middle ages never dreamed of, represent the Bible, Jesus, Christianity, and our human nature as showing

at the same time a natural and a supernatural origin and end. But the great body of thinking people are coming to see more and more clearly that if they would not make their work ridiculous, the only true way is to lay aside reverently all forms of it drawn from their old position, retaining only the ripened skill it gave them, and begin the whole thing over again from the standpoint of evolution. Religion, history, sociology, natural science, education, economics, even ethics, each has got to be entirely rewritten. The objects themselves which they deal with, these of course are the same; but their perspective, their relation to each other and to the eye which sees them, often a vastly more important element in the truth of things than any special facts about them—that is changed, that change what henceforth in any fair consideration of them must assuredly be taken into account. The subject you have given me to discuss this evening—Moral Questions in Politics—is one which needs pre-eminently such a revised treatment. And interpreting it in a large way as meaning not so much a consideration of the special moral questions that are now prominent in politics as of the principle of acting politically on any such questions, and a comparison with it of the other great methods of their settlement—making it, in fact, include the whole field of how society's moral progress under evolution is to be brought about—my aim will be to present its parts not as an advocate, but in their natural grouping, and with all alike of the lights and shadows that from this new standpoint they themselves show.

Evolution's Definition of Moral Questions.

What, as related to the body politic, are moral questions? Here, at the very threshold of the subject, the world's changed perspective makes itself manifest. We all know what have been regarded as such hitherto. They have been questions about slavery, intemperance, gambling, the social evil, the treatment of criminals, the rights of women, and the like, as distinguished from questions that were simply sanitary, civil, economic, industrial, military, and the like; and their moral quality has been thought to consist, the same as with the individual, in their relation sometimes to utility, sometimes to happiness, sometimes to the Divine will, and sometimes to an eternal distinction in the nature of things. But under evolution this old limita-

tion with regard to them is largely wiped out. The scope of morality is made by it to be everything in man's conduct, both individual and social, physical and spiritual, which relates to his full development and well-being; or, as Spencer puts it, "the moral law is the law of the complete life, the law of the perfect man, the law of that state toward which creation tends." It does not exclude the idea of an eternal distinction in the nature of things between right and wrong, any more than counting on the fingers does the necessity that two and two would still make four even in a world which had no fingers to be counted on; does not deny that, so far as the individual is concerned, motive, volition, knowledge, capacity, are important elements in determining the moral character of an action; but it says that the only way in which we can know of the distinction is by the accumulated experience of the individual and the race with regard to their effects, and that so far as society is concerned it is the effects alone that are to be considered—the right being all those things which, taken as a rule, tend to promote the well-being of its members, no matter how material their form, or lowly their motive; the wrong, all those which, taken as a rule, tend to prevent it, no matter how religious their garb or worthy their motive. And wherever it finds a question as to which of these two courses the community shall allow its members to enter upon or continue in, wherever a question of what will enable men in their relations with each other to best secure the great ends of life, whether it be that of freeing a street from filth or a race from bondage, there it finds what to society is a moral question.

It is the only definition which really covers the whole inner field even of recognized morality—is a theory which, instead of making ethics less rigorous and wide-reaching in forbidding robbery and murder and the like, as Mr. Huxley seems to fear, makes it a great deal more imperative and comprehensive. What are the worst crimes against life and property that society suffers from? Not those which are committed with the point of a pistol and the blow of a bludgeon, but often those which are committed with a point of law and a piece of financiering. Here is a factory whose agent insists against all remonstrance on keeping its windows closed because of the finer cloth he can thus make, out of which a girl is carried fainting who in three weeks dies. Out of a dwelling-house near by another girl is car-

ried, stabbed, who in three weeks dies also. The one is called a murder, and its agent is hanged for it. The other is called a misfortune, and its agent gets a dividend of ten per cent for it and is admitted to the Church. Is there any justice in such a distinction—any reason why all such cases should not be defined and dealt with as of the same moral character—anything in the philosophy which does it which lessens the stigma attaching to them as robbery and murder? What constitutes the real essence of slavery. Not alone the owning of a human being. When it began, as it did, in the sparing of a captive's life, it was a virtue. No; but the treating of a man as a thing, the supplanting of his own will with the will of another, one of the most deadly ways of interfering with his well-being. And wherever this is done, whether in a Southern cotton-field under a system of lashes, or in a Northern workshop under a system of wages, or in a Utopian government under a system of laws, why is not the question of how to prevent it as much in the one case as in the other a moral question—a widening, therefore, of the ethical field? What is the real difference between those matters which ordinarily are called economical and sanitary and those which ordinarily are catalogued as ethical and moral? How many are the instances in which it is only that of flower and fruit, cause and effect? What makes a man a drunkard? How often is it starvation wages! Where do filthy lives come from? How frequently from filthy lodgings! Debase the coin of a country, and how quickly will an alloy appear in its conscience! Put a tariff on its merchandise, and what is better proved by all experience than that it will pay a large part of it with its morals? And with such a relation between them is there any other consistent principle than to class them all together as parts more or less evolved of one moral species, steps higher up or lower down of one majestic ladder; anything in doing so that does not give duty a broader base and a wider sweep?

It is the only definition which affords a solid ground for the thorough scientific study and treatment of moral questions. The great difficulty with their investigation hitherto has been their wide separation as regards the origin of what is most distinctive in them from all the other departments of scientific inquiry—the doctrine that though their root was in "the nature of things," it was a "nature" that did not mean nature, and "things" that had nothing to do

with things. Trying to trace their principles into it was like pursuing a defaulting cashier or a boodle alderman from the United States into Canada, an experience in which science came suddenly to a dividing line where its writs of observation and experiment were no longer of any authority, and where only the royal missives of intuition were recognized. And with such a difference of jurisdictions, in one of which were the deeds and in the other the doers, it is no wonder that their treatment has been haphazard and confused, an application of remedies to effects rather than to their cause. It is a difficulty that the evolutionary view of what constitutes their moral character entirely removes. The "nature of things" under which they are to be studied is real nature. And there is no longer any inconsistency in recognizing that the root of an evil may be in a sewer because its fruit is in a soul.

The Objections to Man's meddling in any way with such Questions.

How are moral questions thus defined to be dealt with? Back of the inquiry as to whether it should be through politics is the more primitive one needing first to be settled as to whether it should be through any human agency at all, except as man is unconsciously the agent of the Power which has the universe in charge. There is a large school of thinkers who distrust all interference of the human will for moral ends with the processes of Nature, and especially with its processes in other men. They are not only indignant, as the English girl was with the swimmer who ventured, without an introduction, to save her from drowning, but beyond this they deny the right of any man and of any body of men to save them or save society from anything without a direct request. Let things do themselves, is their motto. The mighty forces of evolution, which have shaped the physical universe so wonderful and fair, rounded out the earth with its marvelous adaptations of part to part, unfolded the animal and vegetable kingdoms to their perfection of form, and built up the human body into its splendid capacities of action, are not going to depend on man's puny aid, they say, for success, now that society is to be organized and morals evolved. The youth who took the place of Phœbus on the chariot of the sun and attempted to drive its fiery steeds over the azure pave to their home in the

West is to them modesty itself as compared with the man who would take the reins of Nature in his hands and guide its forces to their moral goal. They find history filled with the mistakes and blunders of the world's would-be reformers. The objects that one age has labored for with all its ethical might have been, how often, the horror and curse of the next! Who would accept the ideals set forth in Plato's Republic, Sydney's Arcadia, and More's Utopia, as comparing for one moment with the realities that society has come to in the actual course of events? What is the source of nine tenths of the tramps, drunkards, criminals, and good-for-nothings that society is afflicted with to-day? The mistaken Christian charity, it is answered, that for eighteen hundred years has been keeping alive a class of persons to perpetuate their stock that Nature, let alone to execute her law providing for the survival only of the fittest, would long since have laid harmlessly away in graveyards. There are many evils, it is said, the same as there are many insects, which serve better than any human wisdom to keep each other down—"Evil its errand hath as well as good"—so that when one set is destroyed by man's interference it only gives the others a better chance to operate; many reforms, also, that have a natural connection with each other and with the world's physical progress, so that if any one is artificially developed faster than its fellows, no matter how good it may be in itself, it results, the same as with a flower pushed ahead of the spring-time, or with one organ of the body ahead of the rest, in a maladjustment of the new good which in its effects is worse tenfold than the old evil. And from such facts it is argued that instead of trying to guide Nature's coach ourselves, either politically or otherwise, our true course is to sit down very quietly at her side and leave its reins very carefully in her hands.

The World's Indwelling Power that makes for Righteousness.

Far be it from me to deny or undervalue in any way the tremendous moral strain of Nature's own work. There is no other standpoint that mind can take from which it looms up so conspicuous and so undeniable as from that of evolution. It is the great mountain stream rising in the far-off cloudy peaks of the world's nebulous state, and flowing down with ever-increasing volume through its

starry gorges, its bent and distorted geological strata, and its monstrous animal forms into the regions of its civilized life, the stream on the banks of which all human moralities are built, and by the force of which all human reforms are carried on. The universe itself all through is a moral agent, not of the kind perhaps always that would win the prize at a Sunday school, or get its practitioner admitted into good society as a model of deportment, but one that has been true to its great principle of doing what would conduce best to the ever higher well-being of itself and its creatures; one that has come up from the wild orgies of its saurian youth into the decencies of a nineteenth-century manhood, and from its myriad bloody-nosed rounds of fisticuff with savages and barbarians to the battle-fields of civilized industry and to the victories of enlightened peace. If its contests at first were only those of brute strength and brute cunning, and its survivals the survivals only of those that were physically fittest, it was simply to lay the foundations of its final moral structure the more solid and secure, simply because the root of moral right, as we now know, is in a right physical soil. And the lily and the lark have not more surely come out of the awful struggles for existence of the vegetable and animal worlds than Love's flower and Religion's song have from the wars of hate and from the grovelings of passion in the moral world.

The Consistency of Man's Activity with that of Nature.

But this recognition of Nature's inherent moral strain, instead of doing away with the need of man's voluntary effort in the same direction, is a stimulus all the more to its use. The human will is not a separate thing from Nature any more than the human body is, but is a part of Nature—one of its grandest parts. The daring injunction of the old apostle Paul, "Work out your own salvation with fear and trembling, for it is God that worketh in you both to will and to do," expresses the true relation of the two agents. And it is because of this mighty power working within us, because our little human wheel is belted to the great driving-wheel of the universe, that we can take hold of moral questions with some hope of being an aid in their solution.

The right to do so, and especially the right of the indi-

vidual to help in the solution of those matters which concern other individuals, is based on the fact that man is not a unit separate from all other units, but a member with them of an organism in whose welfare his own well-being is vitally bound up, and for whose conduct he shares with them the responsibility. There is indeed a sphere in which the individual is supreme, and into which no other man and no body of men have the right without his consent to intrude—a sphere in which he must be good or bad, saved or lost by and for himself alone. Its existence is one of the grandest and most distinctive facts of our humanity. It is a realm in which the poorest beggar is monarch; a plantation on which the most abject slave is master; a castle in which, more truly than in his home, every Englishman and every man is lord. And any social system that would take it away or narrow its bounds, whatever compensation of other blessings it may promise, is to be fought against as man's bitterest foe. Not less true is it, however, that there are other relations in which the individual is only one part of a larger unit, one state of a grander kingdom, and in which he normally both controls and is controlled by its other members. It is these two organisms, each legitimate, each the product of Nature, each vibrating rhythmically back and forth into the other, that make humanity. All the great questions between individualism and socialism turn on the extent to which their existence is recognized, one party going to the extreme of making the individual the all in all, the other to the extreme of subordinating everything to the control of society. Evolution recognizes them both in its principles of differentiation and integration; Christianity both in its command, Thou shalt love thy neighbor as thyself—words which mean not as much as thyself, but as being a part of thy larger self. And just precisely as the individual has the right to answer alone all moral questions in the realm where he alone is concerned, on precisely the same ground he has the right to join with others in answering all those in the sphere where he has with them a common interest.

Then as to the wisdom and policy of attempting to guide Nature's forces to their moral goal—are they not as pronounced here as in the use of the human will anywhere? Men do not act on the *laissez-faire* doctrine in the other relations of life—do not let the fields alone to give them only their native fruits, or the winds and waves alone

to toss them where they please, or diseases and sickness alone to kill them in their own good time, or the lightnings and the cataract and the expansive power of steam alone to advance society after their own slow fashion. No; they mix them up with humanity; they bit their wild mouths; they harness their mighty forces; they mount the box behind their swift heels; they guide them, loaded with ten thousand human interests, to goals that by themselves alone they would never reach. What is all civilization as compared with barbarism, what is America to-day, jeweled with cities, laced with railroads, waving with wheat-fields, rich with thought, as compared with America three centuries ago, a howling wilderness, but the refusal of men in other things to act on the let-alone principle? Why now should they act on it in the moral world? Why not join hands with Nature in curing the diseases of the social body, raising richer virtues in the field of the soul, utilizing with temperance factories the eternal power that makes for righteousness, steaming labor on to justice, and making a trolley-system by which right's lightning shall hasten humanity's plodding feet on to its goal? With Nature's force the same eternal mystery everywhere, is there any more immodesty in seeking to drive it with one rein than with another, any more impudence in guiding its stream of righteousness than in guiding its stream of life, any more absurdity in using it to improve a virtue than in using it to improve a vine? What if mistakes are made? They are not made in morals any oftener than they are in art and science and philosophy, and in everything else with which man has to deal—are a part of the food on which here, as everywhere else, man grows up into success. What if reforms do need to move on together, so that a good one pushed ahead of the others becomes an evil? There is just about as much danger of mankind's making the earth wobble on its axis by their all crowding into its one good country as there is of their disturbing its moral balance by their all uniting in one reform. Taste averages here as safely as in all other things. And just as the same swing of the earth along its orbit that brings the bobolink to his northern home in spring-time, brings him the green meadows to sing in, just so the same eternal spirit, in its larger orbit that inspires the reformer to utter his song, operates to make the field ready in which it is to be sung, and to make spring also in all its surrounding fields.

How has the world's moral progress thus far been carried on? Just as certainly by the action of human wills as by the great working force of Nature. The crown and climax of the universe's moral force, the last and finest form in which it ultimates itself, is mankind's volition. Other things are used to make its trunk and limbs, but it blossoms only in souls and fruits itself only through wills.

More important still, it is man's personal effort in moral questions that is the source of that best of all results that comes out of them, his own moral character. If Nature did all, and man was only the recipient, reforms might indeed be conducted as well as, perhaps better than, they are now; but they would not and could not have that wonderful flavor about them which makes them distinctively moral. It is the giver, not receiver, that in the struggles of humanity upward gets the greater blessing.

> "Not the grapes of Canaan that repay,
> But the high faith that failed not on the way."

What was the most precious outcome of the antislavery struggle and our civil war? Not the freedom of the slave, or the salvation of the Union, or the new life it gave to liberty beyond the seas No; but the new manhood into which it lifted up ourselves, the finer quality of Union that it brought to our whole land, North and South. It is this kind of success that always comes in all moral struggles, however much they fail outwardly—this the laurel that the vanquished equally with the victors all win in the battles that are fought for human rights.

So I say in answer to this part of the inquiry that it is a strict deduction from the principles of evolution that men are to take an active part in dealing with the world's moral issues I saw a coachman a while ago with his chubby two-year-old boy on the seat in front of him driving a spirited pair of horses. "He is young yet," said he, "and I keep a good grip on the reins back of him; but he'll come to it himself with a little practice by and by. He's got the blood of six generations of coachmen in him, and blood tells the same here as everywhere Why," he continued, "we're all of us born into the world with a twist in our wrists for holding the ribbons; and I am going to train him so that when I am old and decrepit I can sit on the back seat feeling safe and let him do all the driving." So with Nature. Yes; ridiculous as it has been thought to be, she has taken

her boy, Man, with her up on the great coach of the universe and has given him its reins. He is young yet, and she keeps a good grip on them herself at the same time. But he has got her stock in him for sixty thousand generations, and she knows that such stock in the end will tell. He, too, is born every time with a twist in his soul-wrists for moral driving. And in the long eons yet to come, when her form outwardly has grown old and decrepit, she too, perhaps, expects to sit on the back seat of the spiritual universe and let him do all the driving.

The Human Factors.

The settling of this point, however, does not by any means settle the whole subject. There are two ways of driving, two methods in morals of helping things along. One is with politics, state authority, and the whip and spur of law; the other with inward principle, voluntary association, and the voice and rein of reason. And the question yet to be answered is, Which of these does evolution lead up to and sanction?

Law and the State.

The great nations of antiquity, as is well known, placed their chief reliance on the first of these methods. The words of Pliny, *Non est princeps supra leges, sed leges supra principem*—principle is not above laws, but laws are above principle—and of Aristotle, that the state exists before the individual, and not the individual before the state, expressed the almost universal sentiment. What the world in its early days wanted beyond everything else, wanted with an intensity we can hardly realize now, was stability, a condition of things fixed against change, violence, disorder; and this it had in the state, this the origin and meaning of its name. Its form at first was naturally imperialism—that of the one strong man who could suppress disorder. He was its government; his will its law; obedience to him its morals. The oft-quoted saying of Louis XIV, "I am the state," was what all kings believed; the pious sentiment of the Bishop of Rheims, "When God had made Napoleon he rested from his labors," an expression of the reverence for great leaders as the greatest of divine gifts that all people felt. But kings were not always king-

ly or rulers always righteous; and little by little, each step a battle, each line a revolution, legalism took the place of imperialism, the people's law of the prince's will. Frederick the Great, wishing a windmill removed from before his palace that its owner would not sell, threatened to have it taken away by force. "There is a supreme court at Berlin," answered the miller; and the windmill stands before the palace to this day, a monument to the might of law against the might even of kings. But amid all these changes of form the state itself remained, the center of men's hopes, the object of their devotion, as honored under law as leader, demos as despot. The habit acquired through long ages of reverencing it as the source of all public order and the means of all public good had become a part of our very nature. And so it was almost inevitable when men in the progress of modern civilization came to have great moral questions to deal with that they should look to politics and political action as the chief, if not the only, means by which they could be satisfactorily settled.

The Change of Sentiment with Regard to Law.

Evolution, however, has no sooner built up anything, even a sentiment, than it begins either to tear it down or to shape it over into something else. Gradually in our time a change is taking place in not a few minds with regard to the value of law and the state as the means of promoting any of man's interests. Emerson's words—"We are kept by better gods than the will of magistrates"; "good men must not obey the laws too well"; "to educate the wise man the state exists, and with the appearance of the wise man the state expires"—express a widespread feeling not among cranks and bomb-throwers merely, but among sober, orderly, peaceful thinkers. It is the same kind of sociological change, only a stage farther along, as that by which imperialism gave way to constitutionalism and the potentate to the politician—a change by which now legalism is giving way to individualism, law to liberty, politics to principle. The old order which put the state above the citizen, the laws above principles, has been already entirely reversed. Governments are being remanded, if not into the rubbish heap of the world's back yard, yet into a secondary and subordinate place. And whereas men have relied in the past on the sovereign and the statute book for

order, safety, property, happiness, they are now fast coming to rely for them simply on themselves.

Imperfections of the Political Method.

It is a change which has pre-eminently made itself felt in the estimate of politics as a means of dealing with moral questions. The very names of the two things have come to have a natural incongruity with each other. As Emerson says, "What satire on government can equal the word politic, which for ages has signified cunning, intimating that the state is a trick?"

Who are chosen to act as our legislators? If it is a question of carpentry, we do not trust a man to build even a hen-coop who has not had some little apprenticeship at the trade; but in this most difficult of all arts, the building of a state, the shaping of what is to be a moral habitation, the one, as Burke says, that "requires all the experience a person can gain in his whole life," how often are those chosen who have never spent one hour in studying the real nature of government and of morals, and whose sole qualification is their ability to manipulate a caucus, pander to a popular prejudice, or, it may be, buy outright the popular vote!

What are moral questions used for in politics? As soon as the first outburst of enthusiasm is over out of which the parties that take them up are born, how inevitably does the execution of their principles sink into a secondary place, and their main use become the keeping of their advocates in power! If Jove laughs at lovers' vows, how he must roar at politicians' promises! The performances of a circus on its advertising board fence and in its actual equestrian ring, or even the virtues of a citizen on his grave-stone and in his life, are hardly wider apart than those of a political party before election and afterward. The story is told in the adventures of the famous Baron Munchausen, that coming one night to what seemed a great island in the far-off sea, some of his sailors climbed up its steep sides and made on its top a fire with which to cook their supper. The supposed island, however, proved to be a huge whale asleep on the water; and as soon as the fire had burned a little into his blubber, it waked him up and down he went, sailors, supper, fire, and all, to his home in the vasty deep. And that is the experience reformers have had again and again when they have climbed up on the back of some apparently

continental political party and kindled there the moral fire with which to cook a supper of temperance, woman's suffrage, or labor rights. As soon as it began to burn down into the fat, how quickly has it become a whale and left them and their cause exactly where Munchausen's sailors were, floundering in the watery deep! As Hosea Biglow declares:

> "Constitouents are hendy to help a man in,
> But arterwards they don't weigh the heft of a pin."

Then the methods by which politics and legislation are carried on—the manipulations of the caucus and primary meeting, the torchlight processions, hurrahing and mudflinging of the campaign, and the logrolling, bribery, and partisanship of the lobby-room—who will say they are the ones out of which nice moral results are likely to come? Is there really any evil in society to-day that politics can be set to run down which is worse than politics itself, anything which needs reforming more imperatively than the would-be political reformer? A dudish hunter went out into the woods one morning with his equally dudish dog and started a wolf. An hour after, meeting a grim old farmer, he asked him if he had seen anything of the two. "Oh, yes," said the farmer, "I saw them going by here a little while ago fast as they could run." "And how near were they to each other?" anxiously inquired the youth. "Well," answered the farmer, "the dog when I saw them was about two lengths ahead, but the wolf was fast overhauling him, and I guess that by this time they are just about together." So with very much of the politics that we have started out to hunt down moral evil. The hunter may indeed be some two lengths ahead now, but the game is fast coming up with him, and the two very soon will be together—one inside of the other.

But even where politics is pure and honest, as, indeed, it sometimes is, even when the wisest and best of men get together to make laws, as, indeed, they sometimes do, there are limitations in the method itself which make it in dealing with moral issues only of partial value. The proposed law has to be cut and trimmed and pared down to meet their varying tastes. It never can be the embodiment of the highest and most advanced principles, never at the best ahead of what the average mind, the bare majority of a people, will sustain; otherwise it will be only a dead letter. And when it is enforced it secures to itself only an

outward obedience, not the homage of the soul; cuts down the branch of evil, but leaves its root to unfold, it may be, in a far worse shape; suppresses the saloon, but drives the jug into the home; wipes out slavery, but puts in its place the race problem; shuts up the brothel, but sows the whole city with its inmates; provides, perhaps, in the very fact of obedience to its letter, a quietus to the conscience for breaking, all the more, its inward spirit. "Sammy," said a mother to her little boy who was playing in the yard, and whom she wished to keep from the dangers of the street, "don't you go out of that gate." "No, mother," he answered, "I won't go out of it." Ten minutes after, beholding him making mud pies right between the cart ruts, she angrily exclaimed: "Samuel, why didn't you obey me? Didn't I tell you not to go out of that gate?" "Yes, mother," he replied, "and I did obey you. I didn't go out of the gate; I climbed over the fence." How many are the grown-up Samuels who strictly obey the State Mother when she tells them not to go out of the gate into evil, but who in doing so manage all the same to make for themselves plenty of mud pies out in the roads of vice and wrong by climbing conscience-easy over the unprohibited garden fence!

Worst of all, as a politically made law can express only the average morality as regards virtue, so also it can meet only the average need as regards justice. It can not discriminate, can not take into account an evil's intensifying and extenuating circumstances, can judge only by the outward act, has to saw off its punishment as we saw wood, by the foot measure; and the best legislation thus applied becomes sometimes an instrument of wrong that wrong itself would hardly dare originate. A little lame boy nine years old, with no home and no friends, who had stolen a few pennies, is seized by it and locked up in jail, at first alone, where, so timid and so little beyond babyhood was he, that the sheriff had to put a light in his cell to keep him from crying all night, afterward for four months with a vile, licentious negro. And at the same time the boodle aldermen, the defaulting cashier, and the downright thief, who have stolen moneys by the hundred thousand, are enabled—how many of them!—to walk, money and all, through law's unlocked doors. A woman with a nursing baby is sentenced to ten days' imprisonment for calling a man who had insulted her "vile names," so little hardened that on hearing the sentence she fainted away; while in every great political

canvass a thousand newspapers on each side fling charges at each other and at the opposite candidates too outrageous to be expressed by the term "vile names," all not only unrebuked by law, but sustained by it as the necessary instruments sometimes of settling great moral questions. It was found a while ago in the city where I live that its charities were encouraging idleness among the overgrown boys in some of its families, and a law was made that no household should receive public aid which had children whose age was over twenty-one—a most righteous law apparently; but the very first case it cut off was that of a half-blind old lady of eighty who was doing her best to support an idiot daughter of forty—the most deserving case in the whole city. Visiting the veteran keeper of our county jail on one occasion, I expressed the opinion that in the twenty years of his official life he must have seen a very dark side of human nature. "No," said he, "the average of those who come here is quite as good as the average outside. Of course I get some downright rascals, but usually the big villains have too much shrewdness, or too much money, or too much legal help to get into my clutches. Most of those who come to me are men who have some one weak place in their nature which some one combination of circumstances has happened to assail, but who otherwise are exceptionally good men and men who in all other circumstances would have lived and died respected citizens." Look at the side effects of political action in dealing with polygamy out in Utah. It may have suppressed a twin relic of barbarism, but it has been only by using a twin relic of bigotry—has produced about the same kind of morality that the minister did piety who whipped his child to death to make him say his prayers. The dark ages can not show a more outrageous piece of persecution than that of this nineteenth century against Mormonism, or the feudal barons a more outrageous case of robbery than that of the United States in seizing the property of the Mormon Church. Look at our land's very latest legislative effort against immorality, its action on the Chinese question, its breaking of a solemn treaty with a people to whom its missionaries are preaching a religion of faith and trust, its drawing the line of human brotherhood at almond eyes and a yellow skin, its making of the inalienable rights that all men are born with to life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness depend for thousands of them on their possession of a United States license. It is our

country taking the San Francisco hoodlums for its model, our Congress and President going to the California sand-lots for their morals, our politicians standing at the door of the West virtuously forbidding the ignorant Mongolian to come to this land of liberty, and at the doors of the East offering the ignorant Irishman a vote with which to enforce the denial. And such justice—who shall measure the distance between it and Hooker's famous definition of law, that of it no less can be said than that its seat is in the bosom of God?

Then, apart from the failure of the political method to reach the worst cases of immorality, how many are the lives of earth's noblest and best that it has sacrificed on its scaffolds and gallows, not unintentionally through mistakes of evidence, but knowingly because of their efforts to bring about a higher morality!

> "Alas! the blows for error meant
> Too oft on truth itself are spent."

What is it that has slaughtered liberty's advocates on a thousand battle-fields? The sword of law's defenders. What has been the worst obstacle that reform—our antislavery reform, for instance—has had to encounter? Notoriously the statute book. What stands next to church law as responsible throughout all time for the blood of the world's martyrs? Beyond question political law. A few years ago warrants were issued for the arrest of eight men charged with murdering the Chicago police. One of them could not be found and might easily have escaped even a trial; but conscious, apparently, of his own innocence and hoping by his influence to save his companions, he voluntarily walked into the court-house during their trial and gave himself up to its officers. It was a deed of trust in law and of gallantry toward comrades that in the days of classic Greece and Rome would have challenged the world's admiration, and which might apparently even in our day have weighed something in showing that he was no ordinary criminal; but law can have no eye for chivalry and no sense of honor in dealing with its offenders. He was proved guilty of throwing out, if not bombs, yet dangerous sentiments, the guilt of reformers in all ages, and was hanged as remorselessly as if he had been an actual murderer stabbing for money and cornered, in spite of himself, by a vigilant police.

Such cases are the result of what must always be a limita-

tion of the political method in dealing with moral questions, the fixedness of its enactments. When Nature has settled a point of right, she immediately leaves it to take care of itself thenceforth, and goes on to help settle another; but when law has settled a point of right, it immediately sits down square upon it, and devotes all its energies ever after to keeping it settled. It is like the old farmer's horse—good when you want it to stand, but very poor when you want it to go. In its eyes the right is all accomplished good, and to be defended; the wrong all unaccomplished good, and to be resisted. The worst foe of new morality is law-embodied old morality. Legislation is a man who makes barrels by putting the boy Principle inside of them to hold up their heads while he drives on the hoops—a good way if each barrel thus finished was the last ever needing to be built. But every time he is called upon to build a better one, it makes it necessary for the boy to smash the old one in order to get out—a process which naturally causes a good deal of disturbance, as very often the smashing has to be done with gunpowder. The path of the world's moral progress through the ages is marked by its smashed and abandoned laws. As Mr. Buckle puts it, "Every great reform which has been effected has consisted not in doing something new, but in undoing something old." And with such a record the satisfaction which is felt at getting the world's moral progress into law must necessarily be a good deal modified by the certainty that the very next question will be how to get it out of law.

The Moral Method.

In contrast with political action, look at man's other great method of aiding morals—that of education, of voluntary association, and of appeals to reason and conscience. "Where is your music?" said a bystander to a soldier of the Eighth Massachusetts Regiment as it was hurrying through the angry streets of Baltimore to the defense of the nation's capital at the outbreak of our civil war. "Down in the breech of our rifles," was the grim reply. And that is how we want to carry our moral music as we go forth to the defense of right and justice on the battle-fields of human life —not so much in the drum and fife of a political caucus and a legislative hall as down in the depths of our souls.

"Within himself he found the law of right."

It is the naturally evolved successor to the method of law. There is no characteristic of our times more marked than the number, size, and sweep of the reformatory movements that with the decadence of politics and the loosening of the legal bond have sprung up into doing what was once considered to be almost exclusively the politician's and legislator's work. Religion, so long divorced from morality, has in our day recognized its claims and begun pouring into it the might of its divine inspiration. The Church itself is no longer, at least in free countries, a state institution, or governed, at least in its Protestant form, on state principles, but is simply a series of voluntary moral associations. And wherever any new issue comes up in the world at large, or any new and difficult work presents itself needing to be done, it is the instinct of its advocates to form among themselves a society to take it in charge—this even when the Government is to be asked ultimately to act as its agent. A salt dissolved in water so that its atoms can act freely according to their own internal law does not more surely arrange itself in a crystal than humanity individualized in the medium of liberty does into a voluntary organization. It is a phenomenon going on before our eyes to-day which transcends in beauty anything ever seen in the chemist's laboratory, yet is looked upon by how many as if it was only society going to pieces. And in settling moral questions, who will say that humanity thus crystallized is not a more highly evolved agency than humanity in its merely amorphous, political state?

It is the method of equality, of self-respect, and of manliness. When a thing is done because of a law imposed by another, no matter how worthy in itself the thing may be, and no matter whether that other is a monarch or a majority, it inevitably places its doer in a position of inferiority, makes him a thing moved by an outside force rather than a man self-moved. But when it is done from inward principle, it makes each man his own monarch and puts him on a par with every other man. It appeals to and develops that which is noblest and best in man—his power of choice and his own sense of right.

> "A voice spake in his ear,
> And, lo! all other voices far and near
> Died at that whisper full of meanings clear."

It brings together in support of a cause only those who have a heart and soul interest in its success, those

who love it and can lay on its altar the enthusiasm of love. It is indeed open to fanaticism, narrowness, crankiness; but it is lifted realms above the far worse vices, so common in politics, of selfishness, shallowness, and time-serving. All the noblest qualities of our human nature—altruism, self-sacrifice, the courage of conviction, and the living for an ideal, all the crosses and martyr stakes of our race, all its noblest poems and most heroic deeds—gather, if not inevitably, yet naturally around its standard. And, in spite of the popular odium attaching to the name reformer, if you want to stand on the mountain tops of humanity, want to see how near dust can come to Deity, want to breathe an atmosphere as far removed from politics as that of Shasta from a sink, go into the company of men who

"Ere its cause bring fame and profit and 'tis prosperous to be just"

have sided with a moral truth—men like Phillips, Garrison, Foster, Pillsbury, and their associates in the early days of the antislavery cause. So with the kind of morality that is attained by the moral method. It is the real article. What is done by it is done from principle, done because the thing is really believed in, and not from outward constraint. Take the man who is temperate from inward conviction, as compared with the one who is temperate because the law will not allow him anything on which to get drunk; can there be any question as to which is the higher kind of man? And a state all of whose moral questions have been settled in souls, can it be otherwise than a better one to live in than that which has settled them only on statute books?

It is a method, to be sure, whose outward instrumentalities are insignificant and unimposing; one that, in comparison with the enginery and majesty of law—the police officer, the court, the judge, the prison, the gallows—is a mere "voice crying in the wilderness." But what has been historically the most efficient moral agency this world has ever seen, the Christian religion, was at the start that very thing, a mere voice crying in the wilderness. It despised the aid of law—was, rather, so conscious of its own innate superiority that it did not take the trouble to despise it. Think of Jesus as lobbying in the Sanhedrin to get it to enact his golden rule, or of Paul as dropping the sword of the spirit to manipulate a caucus for his nomination to a position where he could introduce a bill against idolatry. Instead of

being helped by law, it had from the start all the power of law, yea, the very principle of law, to contend against; and it did it triumphantly, did it even when its foe was the Roman Empire, that very embodiment of law—went on doing it against the whole vast empire of wrong, till, deserting its own weapons, it began arming itself with those of its antagonist. I saw a place on Cape Ann a while ago where a soft pine seedling had lodged itself in a cleft of rock, the most hopeless, apparently, of all localities in which to grow, a bit of soft woody tissue surrounded with solid walls of granite and with only impalpable light and air to be its nourishment. Yet the pine with the drill and dynamite of its inner life force had rent asunder the huge granite ledge, elbowed tons of it out of the way, and, as a tall tree, was waving its evergreen boughs in the April sunshine, unharmed even with a scar. And that is what moral force is in the ledges of wrong—a tissue softer than that of the pine seedling, yet rending into powder what defies the sharpest penalties of the statute book and finding food where the sword of law finds only flint.

With such a contrast between the two things, can there be any doubt as to which is to be sought after as at least the preferable one for advancing the world's moral interests? While believing thoroughly in woman's right to the ballot, is it not a mistake to measure her progress as a social factor by the degree to which it has been attained? There are scores of places to which she is being admitted—notably to the college, the counting-room, the platform, and the sacred desk—that are worth to her infinitely more than anything, from polls to presidential chair, that politics has to offer. And, however willing she may be to take it as the symbol of her equality with man, is it worth while for her to pay a very large price for what, as an agency in helping morals along, is like a seat in a country wagon to a girl who has got her hand on the throttle-valve of a locomotive engine? So with reformers possessed of the ballot who never succeed in getting their ideas materialized in any political measure—go down to the grave, after years of struggle, with them embodied, perhaps, only in their own tottering forms; they are not on that account valueless as moral factors. There are men in the world—you have some in your own ranks—ripe with age, yet blossoming continually with new hopes and plans for humanity, orange trees in the realm of soul, whose simple personality is doing more for progress

than any political activity could. A vote in the minority is lost; a man in the minority always counts. And an association like this, made up of such men, young and old, and operating wholly through ideas, is raising, if nothing more, yet a raw material for ethics, without which at last all the factors of it would come to a stand. So with the churches that, refusing to meddle with politics, give their whole energies to the making of better souls. I know it is the custom of progressionists to despise their work, and I am very far from believing it is religion's whole sphere. But they, too, have their place. What this world wants more than anything else for the solving of its moral problems is moral men and women. Human nature is the soil out of which all social fruits grow; and whatever makes that richer will make everything above it righter.

The Relation of the Two Methods under Evolution.

Nevertheless, with all this immeasurable superiority intrinsically and philosophically of the moral over the political method in dealing with the questions at issue, practical sociology is very far from saying that the political one is yet wholly a thing of the past and never now under any circumstances to be used for their solution. Adaptation to the environment as well as intrinsic excellence is what here, as well as everywhere else, has to be taken into account. First archism; then legalism; then anarchism; or, if the words are better liked, first imperialism, then legalism, then individualism—prince, politician, principle—that is the natural order in which all government unfolds, that the one each part of which has a corresponding phase of social development it is best fitted for. And as in religion the law is the school-master to bring us to Christ, so in the state politics is naturally the path by which we go to principle. With social development the same everywhere, the progress from the one to the other would be everywhere the same. But it is notorious that while some parts of society are enlightened enough to act on principle, others, even in the most advanced communities, are yet in that savage and half-civilized condition for which the personal ruler and the strong arm of law are best adapted. And where this is the case it surely is the dictate of plain good sense to use the tool, whatever its intrinsic imperfection, which will best do

the task. "I believe in blood as much as any one does," said the horse-trader; "but when I see a really good animal I go for him, no matter how mongrel his ancestry may be," a wisdom that will apply equally well to legal scrubs as compared with the blood-stock of principle. Electricity is a higher motive power for moving street cars than horse muscle, and a dynamo in each car a higher one than a wire connecting it with a central station. But, till the separate dynamo is perfected, we use the wire; and when the wire will not act, as is the case now and then, we bring out the old horses and hitch them on in the old way. And for the same reason, though moral principle is a higher force than law with which to move the car of progress, and a moral dynamo in each man's soul a better form of it than a central one at Albany or Washington, it nevertheless is a matter of practical wisdom, when the dynamo breaks down or can not be applied, to keep the old political horses as the force on which to fall back.

It is indeed true that law can never rise above the average morals of the state, never express its most advanced sentiment; but, on the other hand, it is an immense instrument for doing what in some respects is even more important—the bringing of its less advanced members up to the average and the keeping of them from dragging the whole into destruction. Here is a village where moral suasion has succeeded in shutting up all the drinking saloons but one. The very fact, however, that the others have been closed makes it all the more profitable to keep this open, all the more difficult, therefore, for it to be acted upon by moral suasion. Why now should such a premium on its baseness be allowed—why not the great majority of citizens who want it closed get together politically and shut it up with the power of law? Here is a State where a hundred factories have been persuaded not to employ children under twelve or fifteen years of age, but a dozen more selfish ones persist in their employment, and as a consequence are able to undersell the others, or else compel them to reduce the wages of their adult hands to a level with those of the children. Is not this a case where law can properly interfere to put them all on the same footing? Or, worse still, here is a man who, through ignorance or a flippant contempt for science, throws his offal into a brook or keeps open a filthy sewer till it threatens the whole village with a deadly epidemic. Ought there to be any scruple about lifting him

up by political action to at least the average height of sanitary morals? A traveler attacked by a savage dog, as he was passing peaceably by a farm-house, seized his gun and poured its whole blazing charge down the creature's throat. "What did you kill my dog for?" exclaimed the angry owner, rushing out. "To prevent his killing me," was the answer. "Well, why didn't you hit him with the butt end of your gun?" was the next question. "Well, why didn't he come at me with the butt end of his body?" was the neat reply. There are some evils in society so savage and wide-mouthed that if a man waits to deal with them morally there will not be any man, the same as if the traveler had waited to tame the dog, there would not have been any traveler left. And in such cases, savage as the method seems, is there any other alternative than to give them the blazing legal end of society's moral gun?

Laws do indeed have a tendency to become the prisons of moral principle, needing often to be violently destroyed when any new onward step is to be taken. But that is true of all forms, all institutions, all growths, is true of the human body itself, is true even of the customs, habits, and societies by which morality as a principle acts, is true at last of the grand old man who for sixty years has stood at the forefront of England's reforms. It is the fundamental method of evolution, building up and then tearing down, imprisoning life in one generation, and then sweeping its forms all into graves in order to have it move on into better ones in the next.

> "Ever by losses the right must gain,
> Every good have its birth in pain."

And its operation in the field of politics, its having the laws which morality leaves in and blooms in during its spring become the dead leaves and dead petals which it has to shake off in its autumn so as to have its tree grow, only brings the political method the more clearly within the scope of evolution.

Laws at first produce only outward morality; but outward morality kept up long enough becomes habit, exactly the same as inward morality does, and habit inherited becomes nature, the inmost thing of all. It is the method that all parents use in the training of children, the forming of good habits through obedience to outward precepts. It is closely connected with "the influence of the environ-

ment," the working from the outward inward, which under evolution is certainly one of Nature's recognized methods of progress. And with society freed by any means from immoral surroundings and its young trained up simply to good habits for a few generations, who can doubt that the moral gain, if not equal to that of inward personal struggle, would at any rate be immense?

There is no denying that laws are often badly administered and do harm; but, with all the tremendous value of inward principle, it must be confessed that its practical working is sometimes in this respect very far from being perfect. Who shall say that custom, fashion, public opinion, the channels entirely independent of law through which morality expresses itself, are not often as tyrannical and unjust as any legislation has ever been? Take the awful penalty that society inflicts on a fallen woman, laid down in no statute book; and in all the multiplied crimes of law against the sex, is there anything that for absolute damning wrong will compare with this? What is it behind judge and jury that in all ages has burned and shot and hanged the world's martyrs and reformers? What did it notoriously a few years ago with the Chicago anarchists? Simply an excited public sentiment overriding all the safeguards of law. There is nothing in the vilest legislation which is so much to be dreaded as the world's unlegalized spasms of virtue. It is hardly twenty years since the man who did more than all others to open the Pacific Railroad, actually putting his money, as the event has proved, "where it would do the most good," the manliest man Congress had that year, was hounded into his grave without judge or jury by the country's conscience. Trial by jury—law's method—is bad enough; but what is it in comparison with trial by newspaper, the public's method outside of law? And with all the dreadfulness of the reporter's pen as a panderer to vice, is it ever quite so dangerous as when it dips itself in the ink of righteousness and prepares to come out as the champion of virtue—any damage it ever does with its account of the murder's perpetration that can quite equal what it does with its account of the murderer's punishment?

While political laws, also, are often petty, inquisitive, and a severe restriction on personal liberty, are they more so than the rules and pledges of even the most pronounced voluntary associations? What State ever made regulations for its citizens that went down to a finer point than those

which many temperance organizations and trades-unions make for themselves? The fact is, it is impossible to have anywhere the tremendous power which comes from associated action without the sacrifice to some extent of individual freedom. The most voluntary reform societies appealing to the world by moral suasion do have, and must have, rules among themselves of some kind in order to use to the greatest advantage even moral suasion; must have an iron-bound bucket with which to draw water even from the wells of liberty. The degree of their rigor and minuteness depends not on whether they are made by the state or by a voluntary association, but deeper down on the people themselves, Russian nihilism being just as despotic as Russian imperialism, and the town meeting in America quite as free as the town debating club. And so likewise the mean and objectionable things about politics—the caucusing, partisanship, bribery, log-rolling, bossism, and appeals to prejudice and passion—do not arise from the nature of the state, but from the undeveloped nature of man, are to be found in voluntary associations, even in churches and religious conventions, quite as devilishly developed as in ward rooms and legislative halls.

Crowning all else, it is to be said on the side of political action that it is not infrequently the direct means by which the moral method does its work. The politics of a free country is the great public school to which all its citizens go inevitably as pupils. It is impossible to get a law enacted which involves in any way their welfare without at least some discussion of its right and wrong principles. Every electioneering campaign is a debate of its members in which, mixed in with the meanness and the mud-throwing, the precious stones of right and virtue and moral obligation are flung from side to side. If the calendar of politicians is darkened with names that are the synonyms of cunning and self-seeking, it is starred also with such shining ones in the ranks of principle as those of a Sumner, a Gladstone, a Cavour. And even in the worst machinations of the caucus and the lobby there is often an unconscious, unintended moral wisdom that surpasses in its practical effect the sober designing of the churches and schools, a divinity that shapes the ends of politics to morals, rough hew them with bribery and trickery as their actors may, presidents elected from the ranks of pot-house politicians as one of themselves whom the dignity and responsibility of their position have converted into

models of official conduct, microbes of political vice that have proved the best possible antidotes of some of the civil ones that were consuming the general body of society, and seeds of law sown in the dirt and filth of selfishness and corruption that have flowered in public virtue and fruited in moral progress.

Can the Political Method itself be further evolved?

Is there any improvement of politics, any further development of the state, which can remove their defects and make them more efficient as moral agents? I do not see how state socialism—that is, the enlargement of their functions—is going to do it. It is a movement in the very opposite direction of that to which evolution naturally tends; a use of law greater instead of less, a working more from without instead of more from within. The evils of the political method which are now in a few fields it would transfer to all, bring everything under the control of the politician. And just in proportion as it relieved the individual of the moral strain under which he now so often falls, it would relieve him of the moral strength under which he now so largely stands.

Neither can I see any reason for going with Mr. Spencer to the other extreme—that of limiting the functions of the state to the punishment of crime and stigmatizing all laws for the direct promotion of a people's welfare as among "the sins of legislators." If it is right for the state to stop murder by shutting up murderers, why is it not right for it to do it by shutting up the saloons which make the murderers? If it can properly interfere with the man who maims another with a club, then why not with the one who maims another with a polluted stream or a dangerous wall? Or, if it can support a police officer and a jail for the sake of maintaining the peace of society, then why not a schoolmaster and a school-room? The more evolved philosophy here, as everywhere else, would seem to be prevention rather than cure, dealing with the fountain rather than the stream. And on Mr. Spencer's own ground that the state is to secure to every man freedom to do all he wills, provided he does not infringe on the equal freedom of every other man, all laws needful for this, and especially all laws like those relating to education, which tend to make him less desirous of in-

fringing on the equal freedom of others, would seem fairly to be within its province.

If the state is to be improved at all as an agency for dealing with moral questions, the principles of evolution point plainly to more freedom, more reliance on the individual, more the character of a voluntary association as the direction in which the improvement is to be sought. The worst thing about it now is its assumption that its laws have a special sanctity and authority by virtue of their being made by it, and that it has a natural right to impose them on all the people within its limits independent of their direct personal consent. The conception of it presented in such works as Mulford's Nation, and in so many patriotic sermons and Fourth of July orations, designed to excite reverence for it as an institution innately good and necessarily to be obeyed, is quite as mischievous as that of the socialist at the other extreme, who looks on it as a distinct personality which has special duties it owes to him—is indeed a kind of teaching that is largely responsible for socialism, the obligation to support on the one side implying the obligation to protect on the other. A remnant still exists of the old philosophy that it is the state that makes morality. For the divine right of kings we have substituted the divine right of congresses. And as the pagan of other days took a piece of wood he had saved from the fire heap or the lumber yard and carved it with his knife into an idol which he fell down and worshiped as his god, so the citizen of today takes a piece from the timber of our common humanity and shapes him with his ballot into a legislator whose law he bows down to with a homage altogether different from what he would give it as the word of a man. It is an assumption that we need to get entirely rid of. The state is ourselves, what we are, and with only such authority as we choose to let it have. As Emerson says, "we ought to remember in dealing with it that its institutions are not aboriginal, that they are not superior to the citizen, that every one of them was once the act of a single man, and that they are all imitable, all alterable." There is no reason why a man should not join it and leave it as freely as he does a church or a temperance society; no reason why, if he refuses to receive its protection and partake of its benefits, he should be taxed for it, any more than when he declines to buy any other goods. It is toward this relation to it that all democracy, all civilization tends. And with the citizen

thus its voluntary member there would be naturally the same appreciation of its value and responsibility for its conduct, and the same chance to act in it on principle, that there are now in all other voluntary associations.

With equal emphasis evolution points to more differentiation in the legislative department of the state as a requisite for its better dealing with moral questions. A large part of its mistakes and inefficiencies now arise from its trying to act on all its varied interests through only one set of men. With the complexities of our modern social life and the wide diversity of the matters to be attended to—coinage and crime, temperance and tariffs, Indians and imports, seals and silver—what can be more absurd than to expect one body of legislators to make laws intelligently on them all? Different hands for different work is what is as much needed in the state as in any other workshop. If an Indian question is to be acted upon, the only way in which to have it done properly is by the election of men for it who have made a special study of the Indian situation; if a temperance question, then of those who have given to temperance in all its bearings their life thought. So with all other matters requiring wide knowledge and nice discrimination. Thirty years ago our country had bitter experience of what it was to wage a military war by acts of a general Congress, setting politicians who could manage a caucus to managing a campaign, and leaders who could fire the country's heart to being leaders who should fire its cannon. We need to do now in our war against wrong what we had to do then in our war against rebels—put its conduct in the care of moral Grants and Shermans, have West Points at which to educate civilians as well as soldiers. It is this that is the real civil-service reform, the one that will bring law-makers within its scope, a hundredfold more important than that which includes only law administrators. Then when a law has been formulated it ought in most cases to be referred back to the whole people for its final passage—they who ought, in the old New England town-meeting way, to be their own ultimate legislative body. It is a reference which would give them a direct knowledge of the laws they are living under, a thing which in nine cases out of ten they are ignorant of now, would be a union of the nation's select and common wisdom, the voice of reason and the voice of the people, that might with some justice be called the voice of God. And moral laws public opinion had helped so

directly to make, public opinion better than any policeman's club would help naturally to enforce.

The Many Members in One Body.

Summing up the conclusions reached, society's moral questions include all those which relate to how its members in their dealings with each other shall best be enabled to promote the public good and to secure from it their own highest well-being. The right of any person to act on such questions is derived from the fact that he is not only an individual with his own conduct to attend to, but a part also of the social body, having interests that are affected by the conduct of others, and that his will and his work are the legitimate higher channels of that great indwelling power making for righteousness by which the whole universe is moved. Politics and the moral method both have their place under evolution as agencies to be used in their settlement, the difference between them being that the one is a stage farther along than the other, and that it works from within instead of from without. Each has its imperfections and limitations, each its special stage of social development to which it is best adapted; and while moral principle is to be looked forward to as the ideal condition, political law is to be used whenever for the time being it will best promote the great end to be attained, just as in the education of a child outward precept is imposed upon him by parent and friend till he is able to act always from his own inner sense of right, the acting from his own sense of right being always kept in view as the end to be reached. There is no inconsistency between the two, no reason why both of them should not join hands, when the opportunity offers, in helping do their common work. And the final tendency of evolution here, as in so many other things, is not to accentuate the differences of its factors, not to give the one supremacy by the other's annihilation, but to fill each with something of the other's life and to unite them all on a higher plane and, in a completer whole, evolve the state into more freedom for the individual, the individual into more voluntary associations that, like the state, shall act through self-imposed law, and society at large into a completer yielding to that Divine Power within it which of itself makes for righteousness. As the audience of a country church one summer afternoon were laboriously

struggling through their congregational hymn, the wheezy old organ with its poor player trying to lead, and several scores of voices each with its own distinct degree of success trying to follow, it chanced that Emma Abbott, the famous opera singer, dropped into the service, and suddenly a voice rich, sweet, powerful, and thrilling with an accent of soul no word can describe, broke in with them from among the pews. It did not hush the others, but quickened, inspired, strengthened, led them—swept the hundreds of straggling voices and the wheezy old organ itself, glad now to follow, into complete harmony with each other, into a capacity, also, that surprised themselves; and there went up to heaven out of them all a burst of reverential song such as the old church in all its eighty years of service had never echoed with before. And that is what the inward moving power of evolution, the voice of God in the soul of man, is tending to do with our wheezy old state organ and its political players, and with all the hundreds of voluntary reform tongues that now, straggling apart, are trying to deal with moral questions; it is tending not to hush them up, or take their place, but to quicken them into new strength, unfold them into new beauty, and blend them all together in a song that shall be worthy of its glorious theme—a song of the eternal Right that in all this vast world of ours shall not be marred with one discordant note of wrong.

ABSTRACT OF THE DISCUSSION.

HIS HONOR DAVID A. BOODY, MAYOR OF BROOKLYN:

Mayor Boody, who occupied a seat in the center of the church, was then invited to address the audience. Mr. Boody came forward to the platform amid applause and said:

With invited guests upon this platform coming, I believe, from distant cities, and at this hour of the evening, it would not be proper for me to detain you. I will only do so long enough to express my appreciation of the work of this society and of that which they have already accomplished, and to add that I believe that moral questions are the controlling ones in government. I believe that they very largely determine the character and usefulness and the triumphs that our great parties have won. In this respect possibly I differ slightly from the conclusions which have been presented in the very able paper to which we have listened. I believe that both of the great parties had their origin in the consideration of ethical questions. I believe that whenever they have been true to themselves and to the consideration of moral questions they have won their great triumphs. If we had time to notice the history of the two great parties we should find that it was in the consideration of these questions as they refer to the relations which man sustains to man and which man sustains to government, in the consideration of such questions that they have had their origin. If we should refer to the life of the great apostle of the older party of the two, we should find that he prepared himself for his usefulness upon a national scale by the work which he performed in connection with the government of his native State; in laboring to repeal those laws which prevented equal rights between men—such laws as entail, primogeniture, the prevention of religious freedom, and kindred statutes—we will find that he was continually dealing with those questions which relate to right and wrong between citizens, and we will find that the great party which he established has lived until this day, because it has sought on memorable occasions to be true to the great principles which he advocated. And if we turn to the other great party we shall find that it, like the other, came into existence in a great emergency in our history, because it also undertook to defend moral questions in government. And so I am not in the slightest degree discouraged. I believe in working through these great organized forces. I believe it is our duty to work where we

can do the most good, all of us laboring to keep our party, whichever it is, up to that higher standard which is our ideal, making it true to its history, true to the principles which it has professed. I wish I might more fully discuss this interesting question. I wish I could refer to the great victories each party has won, to the great question which is before the English nation to-day, to that issue which was discussed before our people two years ago and which may be discussed again, simply with reference to the moral features which each presents to the people. But in the time allotted to me I can not on this occasion. Let me close by saying I am thankful for the work of this society; for the opportunity which it gives all our people for becoming familiar with these great questions and with the principles and policies of parties; for the opportunity which it gives to our people to discuss these questions free from the excitements and prejudices of great political campaigns. We should have these institutions in our midst and appreciate their opportunities. If examples of this kind can be followed by other communities, I feel sure that the truth will be reached, that justice will prevail, and that our institutions will be saved. [Applause.]

REV. JAMES T. BIXBY, PH. D.:

Between the active worker at the polls and the caucus room, and the lazy, indifferent respectabilities who always boycott the political columns in the daily journals, and on election day go to Tuxedo, or pigeon-shooting, or for a drive in the country, there would seem very little in common. But there is one subject on which they seem quite agreed; and that is that politics and morality have nothing to do with one another. Our relations to the State and those to God and duty are quite separate things. The church is a place where we should get ready for heaven, not learn to live rightly on earth. The moralist had better keep clear of politics if he wishes to maintain his reputation. Parties have no use for the Ten Commandments, and principle in politics is an iridescent dream.

Now, if any one cares to maintain this separation between moral questions and politics as an abstract possibility, I am ready to grant that there may be ideal societies where the two might not mingle, though I can hardly conceive it. But certainly in human society as we know it, as it has always existed, and will always exist, till selfishness, ambition, and greed cease to be, the two have never been separated. As a moralist I have no objection to the politician saying, "I pursue politics for politics' sake, and intend to have nothing to do with moral questions." But he never does avoid these moral questions. He is always invading the sphere of right and wrong with some propo-

sition of reform, or, more commonly, with some scheme of private plunder or class legislation.

Wherever there is a question of justice or injustice, of purity or impurity, of honesty or dishonesty, there we see the proper sphere of morals. And if the politician sees fit to enter that sphere and bring back any of these questions of right and wrong into the political arena, and ask the decision of legislatures and congresses upon them, that does not make them any less moral questions then they were before the politicians took them up.

However it may be theoretically, yet practically, look where you will, and all the great questions presented to the voter to-day are moral questions. Look at national politics. Shall the man who has contracted to work for a hundred dollars a month for the next twelve months, expecting to get it in good hard money, be forced to take, instead of gold or its equivalent, so many pieces of silver worth only seventy cents or less in the money of the world? If that is not a moral question, I should like to know what is.

Shall our industrious mechanics, who through the savings banks have lent our bankers and capitalists some twelve hundred millions of dollars, be defrauded when pay-day comes of over three hundred millions of the debt due them by a swindling Bland silver bill? Surely such extortion is a moral question, just as much when done by law of Congress as if by private force or fraud.

Or take the tariff; the River and Harbor bill; the steamship bounty bill; half the bills before Congress—what are they at bottom but a question of robbing Peter to pay Paul; of getting some personal advantage at the expense of the great public; questions on which the one maxim that ought most to be considered, but which is least often considered, is the golden rule: "Do unto others as you would have others do unto you"?

Or take State politics: shall a man rob the mails and turn a minority of votes into a majority, and from that majority that received the stolen goods be rewarded by a judgeship as the price of his crime? What else but that is to be one of the questions we are to vote on at the polls next fall? You may call that politics, but it is none the less a question of very plain public morality.

No; moral questions can not be ruled out of politics, for the politicians themselves will not allow it. They so persistently invade the moral realm with their brazen violations of justice as to keep these moral questions always before the public. And it is not alone the moralists and the men of principle who make the outcry, who raise the cry of violated rights; but the politicians themselves. Not the victorious half of them, to be sure. As long as they are on the top

wave and it is the other party that suffers, politics has nothing to do with morals. Might is right; success in the campaign justifies all tricks and cheats, and Czarism is necessary to vigorous government.

But let defeat at the polls turn the tables, and they themselves become the lamb to be shorn, not the shearer to shear; and now the long-forgotten words—violated right, "eternal justice"—are recalled from the limbo to which they had been consigned, and the party orators shout themselves hoarse over the despotisms, usurpations, and iniquities of the other side.

One of the wise words of Mazzini was: "We ought to drop the phrase human rights and substitute for it human duties." The one, to be sure, implies the other. There can be no duties without correspondent rights, and conversely. But it makes a great difference which we attend to—on which we put the emphasis. To take as our motive the pursuit and enjoyment of our rights and ignore our duties is to foster selfishness, egotism, and anarchic license. That is too much the tendency here and now. With what clamor do the saloon-keepers and the mistresses and *habitués* of brothels inveigh against encroachments on their personal liberties, the spies who intrude into their privacy and would turn our police and laws into shields of crime rather than suppressors of crime! American freedom! Yes, that is a noble word. But has it not degenerated to-day into little more than the inviolate license of every man to be his own scoundrel and the corrupter of his neighbor? No; it is not of our rights we should think, but of our duties.

The people that would make their land the home of justice, order, and a higher civilization must think instead of their duties; personal, social, and national obligations; their duties to the young and the innocent; to the weak and the oppressed; to the cause of temperance and purity; and equity to all without regard to party, money, color, or race.

What reason at all is there for the existence of government? That the strong may have their own way? That the cunning may win what unscrupulous cunning can? If so, better dissolve society and welcome anarchy. Let us say, Hail to the bomb-throwers. Go back to the primitive savagery, when the question between man and man was, Can I kill and eat you, or you kill and eat me? If it is well to give brute force and cunning full sway, let us have anarchy. Society has been founded and maintained for an opposite purpose: to establish justice, to make right and equity prevail. Its fundamental thesis is, the equal rights and equal duties of all; and it reaches its ideal only when the humblest and the weakest shall be as sure of that justice as the strongest.

In filling all civic offices, therefore, the chief qualifications are not smartness, but honesty and faithfulness. The sharper a knave is, the deeper and the more deadly is the cut he makes into the national welfare. We have heard more than enough of education as the devil-killer. Unless a man's heart is sound he is more apt to use his clever intellect not to kill the devil, but to close a bargain with him for the plunder of his neighbors.

The precious metal that alone makes political structures valuable is civic integrity. Without it government degenerates into the legalized plunder of one portion of the community by another portion, and loses all respect for individual rights. A nation may endure high taxes and unwise laws; it may bear up under the load of a privileged aristocracy—nay, of an absolute monarchy; but it can not experience the general loss of honesty in its rulers without verging toward destruction; and when the general public becomes indifferent to the clean reputation of its public officers and smiles at the mention of a candidate's barrel as if that were the expected method of winning an election, and becomes ready to condone the falsification of public records and the corrupt bargains with the law-breakers and the vicious classes as long as it keeps their party on top, there has already begun in the body politic that fatty degeneration of the heart which is the sure symptom of national decay.

I have no great admiration for Mr. Rudyard Kipling; but he gave us a good deal of unvarnished truth when he characterized the government of New York as "not a government of the people, by the people, and for the people, but a despotism of the alien, by the alien, and for the alien, tempered with occasional insurrections on the part of the decent people." We are proud to call ourselves a nation of sovereigns. Let us remember what was said to Alexander when he had the ambition to be deified: If Alexander wishes to be a god, let him *be* a god. If you are a sovereign, act a sovereign's part. Prove your title to royalty by the protection you give the weak, by the justice you mete out to lawbreakers, wearing the purple of honor and courage and the crown of untarnished integrity. If you are a sovereign, be ashamed to let yourself be browbeaten by bosses, cheated by false counting and the contorted gerrymander. Don't any longer be content to abdicate your authority to some illiterate despot selected by a little knot of conspirators in some drinking saloon amid clouds of smoke and drinks of whisky. And don't fancy yourself free because you go through the form of voting once a year, while you and every one else knows that you can't get the most useful law or simplest act of justice passed through the Legislature or the Common Council without first becoming a member of some political wigwam or sub-

scribing a good round sum to the campaign expenses of the dominant party.

The great need to-day is a revival of civic conscience, of the public sense of responsibility, and the old sentiment that official position is a field of public duty. We need to remember that no nation can afford to violate persistently the moral law. An individual may escape the retributions of violated righteousness, for his life is short; the fruit may not ripen till he is in his grave, and only his child or grandchild may suffer. But a nation always has time enough to reap the fruit of its own wrong-doing.

Our young men often regret that the stirring days of the antislavery crusade and the War of the Rebellion are past. But here is a "present crisis" equally as momentous as that which Lowell sung. Here is a campaign equally honorable, making as plain and noble a call on every chivalric heart.

Let us no longer foolishly glory in the bigness of our country, the size of its distilleries, and the thousands of hogs it packs every week. This worship of bigness is the most silly of modern idolatries. If we have not something nobler to boast of, if we can not show a higher civilization, a more general education, a more ardent patriotism, and a cleaner public honor than the effete monarchies we despise, we are but rotting while still unripe.

If we are more than human sponges we ought to be unwilling to suck all that we can from our country and give nothing back to it. We ought to be ashamed to treat our native soil as the California miner treats a worked-out quartz vein—as a mere hole in the ground, to be abandoned as soon as all has been extracted from it that it can yield.

Gratitude, patriotism, and a wise self-interest, all call us to this battle for the higher civilization of our new world. Do you say it is a hopeless struggle? Recall those words with which Garrison opened his batteries on slavery when he began the Liberator:

"I am in earnest. I will not equivocate, I will not compromise, I will not excuse, I will not retreat a single inch, and I will be heard."

Let our patriotic citizens take up the work in this spirit, and there is no doubt what the issue will be. It takes some fighting to win a fray. But if they will fight as Garrison and Lowell and Sumner did, there will be won as glorious and needed a victory as that which has put the laurel of fame on *their* revered heads.

REV. I. K. FUNK, D. D.:

I can certainly indorse much of what has been said, and at this hour can scarcely present any objections which I might entertain unless

you propose an evolution of this meeting into an all-night session. The preacher should enter into politics, for politics is part of the business of every American. The politicians fear the influence of the pulpit on politics. A Texas "statesman" has recently said: "We must drive the preacher back into his pulpit." But he won't stay there; he is going to help purify politics. The age of muscle was first, then came the age of brain, and now we are to have the age of the heart. Moral questions must increasingly come into politics. Mayor Boody said that the great parties had their genesis in moral issues. The question with me is, Where do they stand on the great moral questions *now?* An organization founded on a moral issue is generally most earnest and devoted in its early days; it strikes twelve first, then eleven, and so on, until it finally runs down and its usefulness ceases. The law of conscience should be applied to parties as well as to individuals. Government, after all, is only a committee of citizens appointed to rule; we must be sure that they are on the right side—that is, the side of right. I am not sure that we can get conscience into the old parties. Perhaps it would be cheaper to get rid of the parties. As the old farmer said to the family doctor who had called to see his sick son, "Doctor, if ye can cure Ike fer less than the funeral expenses, go ahead and do it." But I believe that it is possible to get conscience into politics and that things are gradually to shape themselves to that end. The polls should be made the most sacred place on earth. We must "hitch our wagon to a star," as Emerson said. With our eyes fixed on the ideal we shall eventually get the political wagon out of the mire.

MR. KIMBALL, in conclusion:

I will only say that in the paper as read there were omitted several paragraphs, on account of the lateness of the hour, which would, I think, modify or render unnecessary some of the criticisms which have been made. I thank the audience and critics for their kind reception of the lecture.

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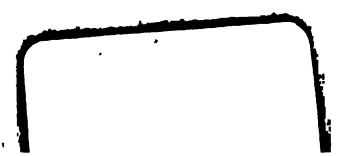

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